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THE ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE YNCAS.

VOL. I.

M.DCCC.LXIX.

FIRST PART

OF THE

ROYAL COMMENTARIES

THE YNCAS

BY THE

YNCA GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED,
With Notes and an Introduction,

BY

CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM.

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ac.

VOLUME I.

(CONTAINING BOOKS I, II, III, AND IV.)

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INTRODUCTION.

THE first part of the Royal Commentaries of Peru describes the manners and customs of one of the two great civilised communities of the New World, and was written by an author who had known the country from his childhood, and had peculiar qualifications for his task. The writer was not one of those travellers or explorers who set out from Europe in search of adventures in the New World. He had even greater advantages as a describer of a distant and little known land; for he was the son of such an adventurer by a native mother, and thus began to acquire the knowledge which enabled him afterwards to write this invaluable work, in his very cradle. So that his travels over all parts of Peru were not commenced until he had learnt the traditions and customs of his mother's people, and had become intimately acquainted with their language. The young Ynca had a wonderful start of all other contemporary travellers, for he was born, as it were, in the midst of his work, and began to store his material as soon as he could speak.

Our author's father, Garcilasso de la Vega,* was a

* The Spaniards in those days had very uncertain rules in the adoption of surnames. One brother would take his father's, another his mother's, and a third his grandmother's. Garcilasso

son of Don Alonzo de Hinestrosa de Vargas and his wife Doña Blanca Suarez de Figueroa. His paternal ancestry, the lords of Sierrabrava, descended from that gallant warrior who fought by the side of St. Ferdinand at the capture of Seville from the Moors—Garci Perez de Vargas, in 1348. In an old popular song the famous city is made to say :—

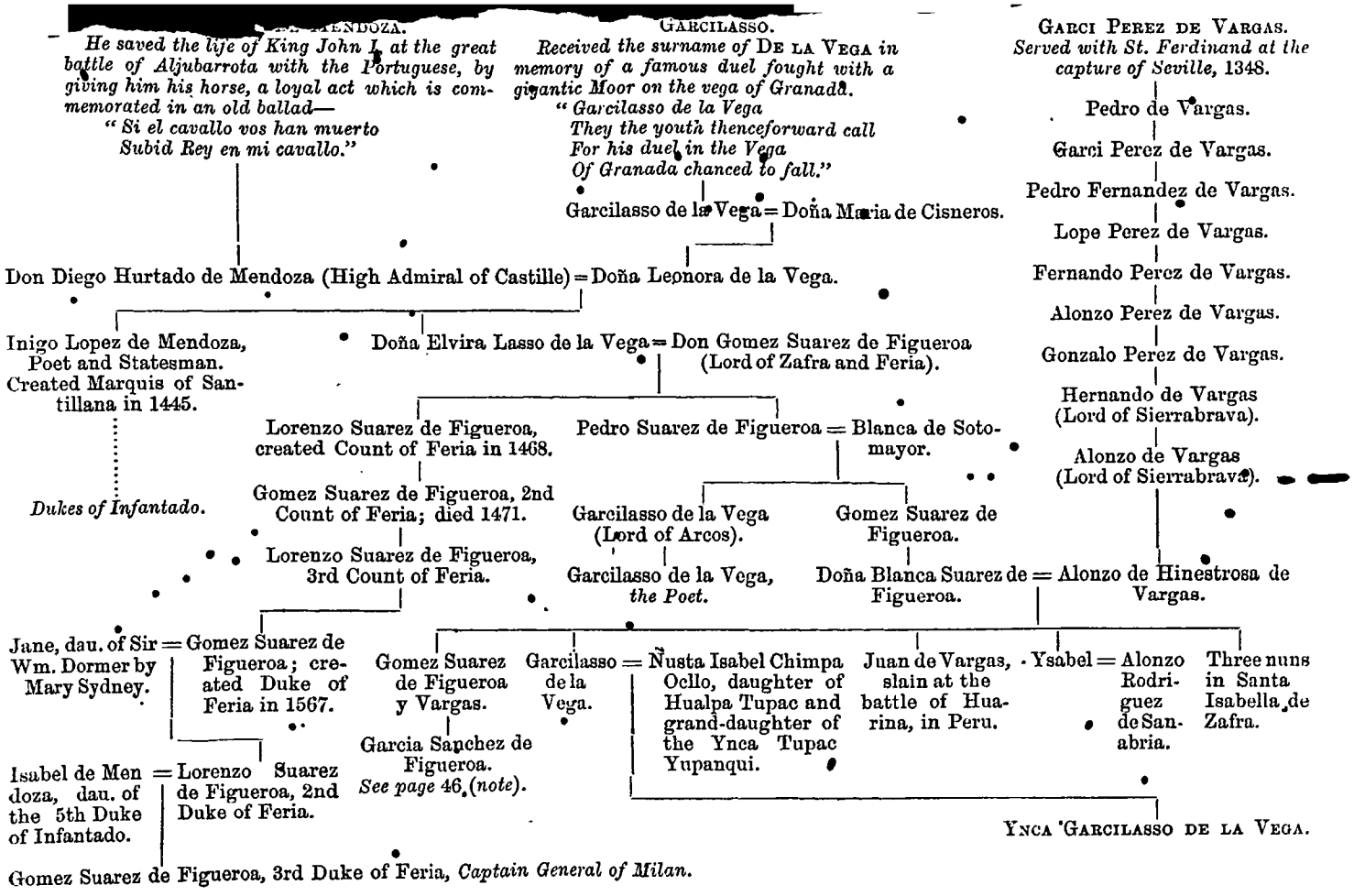
Hercules built me
Julius Cæsar encircled me
With towers and long walls
The sainted King conquered me
With Garci Perez de Vargas.*

The head of his mother's family was her cousin the Duke of Feria, one of the Spanish courtiers who accompanied Philip to England, and the only one who gained an English wife. He married Miss Jane Dormer, daughter of Sir William Dormer by Mary Sydney. The famous poet Garcilasso de la Vega was of the same family, and a first cousin once removed of our author's father.

So that the ancestry of Garcilasso de la Vega the father was sufficiently distinguished and noble, as will be more clearly seen by an examination of the pedigree on the following page. He was born in the city

de la Vega was a Vargas on his father's side, and a Suarez de Figueroa on his mother's. His own name, adopted also by the poet and others of his relations, was that of a maternal ancestor.

* Hercules me edificó
Julio Cesar me cercó
De torres y cercas largas
El Rey sancto me ganó
Con Garci Perez de Vargas.


[redacted] MENDOZA.
He saved the life of King John I. at the great battle of Aljubarrota with the Portuguese, by giving him his horse, a loyal act which is commemorated in an old ballad—
"Si el cavallo vos han muerto
Subid Rey en mi cavallo."
GARCILASSO.
Received the surname of DE LA VEGA in memory of a famous duel fought with a gigantic Moor on the vega of Granada.
"Garcilasso de la Vega
They the youth thenceforward call
For his duel in the Vega
Of Granada chanced to fall."
GARCI PEREZ DE VARGAS.
Served with St. Ferdinand at the capture of Seville, 1348.
Pedro de Vargas.
Garci Perez de Vargas.
Pedro Fernandez de Vargas.
Lope Perez de Vargas.
Fernando Perez de Vargas.
Alonzo Perez de Vargas.
Gonzalo Perez de Vargas.
Hernando de Vargas (Lord of Sierrabrava).
Alonzo de Vargas (Lord of Sierrabrava).
Garcilasso de la Vega = Doña Maria de Cisneros.
Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (High Admiral of Castille) = Doña Leonora de la Vega.
Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, Poet and Statesman. Created Marquis of Santillana in 1445.
Dukes of Infantado.
Doña Elvira Lasso de la Vega = Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa (Lord of Zafra and Feria).
Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, created Count of Feria in 1468.
Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, 2nd Count of Feria; died 1471.
Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, 3rd Count of Feria.
Pedro Suarez de Figueroa = Blanca de Sotomayor.
Garcilasso de la Vega (Lord of Arcos).
Garcilasso de la Vega, the Poet.
Gomez Suarez de Figueroa.
Doña Blanca Suarez de Figueroa.
Alonzo de Hinestrosa de Vargas.
Jane, dau. of Sir Wm. Dormer by Mary Sydney.
Gomez Suarez de Figueroa; created Duke of Feria in 1567.
Isabel de Mendoza, dau. of the 5th Duke of Infantado.
Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, 2nd Duke of Feria.
Gomez Suarez de Figueroa, 3rd Duke of Feria, Captain General of Milan.
Gomez Suarez de Figueroa y Vargas.
Garcia Sanchez de Figueroa.
See page 46, (note).
Garcilasso de la Vega.
Nusta Isabel Chimpa Ocllo, daughter of Hualpa Tupac and grand-daughter of the Ynca Tupac Yupanqui.
Juan de Vargas, slain at the battle of Huarina, in Peru.
Ysabel = Alonzo Rodriguez de Sanabria.
Three nuns in Santa Isabella de Zafra.
YNCA GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA.

of Badajoz in Estremadura, in the year 1506; and was a tall handsome young man, polished, generous, and well practised in the use of arms when, in 1531, he set out for the New World as a captain of infantry in company with Don Alonzo de Alvarado, who was returning to resume his government of Guatemala. That famous chief, on hearing of the riches of Peru, sailed with a large fleet from Nicaragua, and landed in the bay of Caragues in May 1534. Garcilasso de la Vega accompanied him, and shared all the terrible hardships and sufferings of the subsequent march to Riobamba. After the convention with Almagro, and the dispersion of Alvarado's forces, Garcilasso was sent to complete the conquest of the country round the port of Buenaventura. He and his small band of followers forced their way, for many days, through dense uninhabited forests, enduring almost incredible hardships, and finding nothing to repay their labours. He displayed much constancy and perseverance, but, having lost eighty of his men from hunger and fever, he was at last obliged to retreat. He then went to Lima, at the time when Pizarro was closely besieged by the insurgent Indians, and afterwards marched to the relief of Cuzco, which was also surrounded by an Indian army under Manco Ynca.

Then followed the civil war between the conquerors of Peru, and the defeat and death of Almagro. During these troubles Garcilasso de la Vega appears to have settled at Cuzco, where he received a portion of a palace of one of the Yncas as his share of the spoils,

besides grants of land in the neighbouring districts.* After having reaped the fruits of his warlike exploits, and settled himself as a citizen of Cuzco, this noble cavalier, like many of his comrades, became enamoured of a young Ynca princess. Their connection must have commenced in about the year 1538, when the Pizarro faction in Peru had become all-powerful, through the defeat and death of Almagro. The name of the young Indian was Chimpa Ocllo, and she had been baptised as Doña Isabel, but most of her older relations were still worshippers of the Sun. A contemporary picture of this ñusta or princess still exists at Cuzco—a delicate looking girl with large gentle eyes and slightly aquiline nose, long black tresses hanging over her shoulders, and a richly ornamented woollen mantle secured in front by a large gold pin. Her father's name was Hualpa Tupac, brother of the great Ynca Huayna Ccapac, and son of Tupac Ynca Yupanqui. Our author, the Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, was born in 1540; and during the first years of his life his father was engaged in the civil wars which distracted the early days of the conquest.

Garcilasso de la Vega, the father, accompanied Gonzalo Pizarro in his expedition to Charcas, and on the arrival of the new Governor Vaca de Castro in Peru, he joined his camp, and in September 1542 was wounded in the bloody battle of Chupas, where the younger Almagro was overthrown. When Gonzalo Pizarro rose in rebellion against the Viceroy Blasco Ñunez de Vela, Garcilasso appears to have joined the

* See pages 191, 242.

insurgents in the first instance, and his brother Juan de Vargas was slain in the battle of Huarina on the shores of lake Titicaca, on October 26th, 1547. After this battle Gonzalo Pizarro marched in triumph to Cuzco, and his entry into the city is one of the earliest reminiscences of our author, who was then but seven years old. The day before, the little boy had gone out with his mother to meet their returning lord, as far as the village of Quispicancha, three leagues south of Cuzco. He tells us that he walked part of the way, and was carried on the back of an Indian when he got tired. But his father got him a horse to ride back on, and he passed under all the triumphal arches of gay flowers, with the victorious cavalcade.*

Soon afterwards Garcilasso de la Vega resolved to desert the cause of the rebel chief, and, with several other knights, he fled from Cuzco to Arequipa, and thence up, by the deserts of the coast, to Lima, in order to share the fortunes of the Viceroy Blasco Nuñez de Vela. But when he arrived at Lima, that ill-fated and wrong-headed knight was gone, so the fugitives concealed themselves as best they could. Garcilasso was lodged in the house of a friend, and afterwards hid himself in the convent of San Francisco. Through the intercession of friends, Gonzalo Pizarro granted him a pardon, but detained him as a prisoner until he escaped to the army of Gasca, on the

* He says he remembered all these things most distinctly, even down to the houses where each of Gonzalo's captains lodged in Cuzco, "porque la memoria guarda mejor lo que viò en su niñez, que lo que pasa en su edad major." *Comm. Real*, II, v, 27.

morning of the battle of Xaquixaquana, galloping across the space between the two camps at early dawn, on his good horse *Salinillas*. This was in 1548. He afterwards resided quietly at his house in Cuzco until the rebellion of Giron broke out in 1553, when he once more showed his loyalty by escaping in the night, and joining the royal camp. The insurrection of Francisco Hernandez Giron broke out at Cuzco. The Corregidor and principal citizens were assembled at supper in the house of Alonzo de Loaysa, a nephew of the archbishop of Lima, to celebrate a wedding, on the 3rd of November. Amongst others, Garcilasso de la Vega and his little half-caste son, then fourteen years old, were present. Suddenly the doors were burst open, and Giron, with many armed followers, rushed into the room. Garcilasso, with his son and a few friends, got out by a back way, and over the roof of the house, and so into the street. The boy was then sent on in front as a sort of sentry, to whistle if the coast was clear at each turning. In this way Garcilasso and his friends got to their houses, mounted their horses, and rode off to Lima.*

Our author's mother, the Ynca princess, was probably dead at this time, for he speaks of his stepmother in his interesting account of these stirring transactions.

After the fall of Giron, Garcilasso de la Vega was appointed Corregidor and Governor of Cuzco, where he appears to have devoted himself to the duties of his office, and, amongst other good deeds, he restored

* II, lib. vii, cap. ii, iii.

the aqueduct which brought a supply of water from the lake of Chinchira for a distance of two leagues, to irrigate the valley of Cuzco. His house was a centre of hospitality and kindness, where the conquerors fought their battles over again in the evenings, and where numerous charities were dispensed. Both he and his wife were engaged in acts of benevolence, and in collecting subscriptions for charitable purposes during the time that he held office. It is said that in one night he raised 34,500 ducats for a hospital for Indians. They were also the guardians of many orphans, and Garcilasso particularly took charge of the children of his old companion-in-arms Pedro del Barco, who was ruthlessly hanged by savage old Carbajal, the lieutenant of Gonzalo Pizarro.* When Garcilasso was relieved of his office, the *Juez de Residencia* who came to review his administration, honourably acquitted him of the charges which, in those days, were invariably brought against retiring officials.

The future historian was thus brought up amidst the turmoil and insecurity of civil wars in a newly conquered country; but he was fortunate in having one of the few honourable cavaliers of noble blood among the conquerors for his father; while he learnt much from the gentle Ynca princess, his mother, and her kindred. His education was not neglected. He went to a day school at the house of the good Canon Juan de Cuellar, a native of Medina del Campo, who taught grammar to the half-caste sons of the citizens of Cuzco. This excellent priest undertook the work of

* See page 295 (*note*).

teaching out of kindness, and at the request of the boys themselves; for as many as four previous schoolmasters had forsaken their scholars after a few months, thinking to make more money in other ways. Men were unsettled and restless in those early days of the discovery of the New World. But the good canon read Latin with his pupils, about eighteen in number, for nearly two years, amidst all the turmoil of the civil wars. Among the young Ynca's schoolfellows were Diego de Alcobasa, his adopted brother, whose father was guardian to our author when his warlike sire was absent in the wars;* Pedro Altamirano, whose eye for beauty once caused him to lose a race;† a son of the gunner Pedro de Candia, one of the famous thirteen who stood by Pizarro on the isle of Gallo; sons of Juan Serra de Leguisano,‡ Juan Balsa, and Pizarro by Ynca princesses, and the children of Pedro del Barco. There was also a young Indian of full blood at the school, named Felipe Ynca, who was an excellent scholar; and indeed the schoolmaster was so pleased with them all that he used to say:—"O sons! what a pity it is that a dozen of you should not be in the university of Salamanca."

During these early days, while our author was learning some of the lore of the old World at school, his mind was stored with the history and traditions of his native land at home. Almost every week, he tells us, some of the relations of his Indian mother came to visit her; and on these occasions their usual conversation was on the subject of the former grandeur of their

* See p. 211. † See p. 104. ‡ See p. 272 (*note*).

fallen dynasty, of its greatness, of the mode of government in peace and war, and of the laws ordained by the Yncas for the good of their subjects. The half-caste boy listened eagerly to these conversations; and at last, when he was about sixteen or seventeen years old, he began to put questions to an old Ynca nobleman, who was his mother's brother, and received from him the story of the origin of the Ynca dynasty.* As the lad grew up, his father employed him in various ways, such as superintending and visiting his estates, and the young Ynca appears to have travelled over most parts of Peru, scaling the snowy passes, crossing the rapid streams in *balsas*,† and traversing the arid deserts. At last, after a long illness, his father died in the year 1550, and he was left an orphan.

Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega was just twenty years of age when he found himself alone in the world, and he resolved to seek his fortune in the land of his father, leaving Cuzco and Peru for ever in the same year that he became an orphan. He tells us that on his voyage he was becalmed for three days on the equator, off Cape Passaos ;‡ and, when at last he landed in Spain, he received patronage and kindness from his father's relations, for which he afterwards expressed exaggerated gratitude. He became a captain in the army of Philip II, and served in the campaign against the Moriscos, under Don John of Austria. When he retired from active service the Ynca took up his abode in hired lodgings ("esta pobre casa de alquiler," as he

* See p. 62. † P. 259.

‡ Page 17.

calls them) at Cordova, and devoted himself to literary pursuits. He was both poor and in debt when he left the army, and his father's implication in the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro cast a cloud over the fortunes of the Ynca.

His first literary production was a translation from the Italian of the *Dialogues of Love*, by a Jew named Abarbanel, who wrote under the name of "El Leon Ebreo." The Ynca's translation was published in 1590.

His next work was a narrative of the expedition of Hernando de Soto to Florida, which he completed in 1591. He is said to have got his information chiefly from the accounts of an old soldier who served with de Soto; and Mr. Bancroft characterises the work as "an extravagant romance, yet founded upon facts—a history not without its value, but which must be consulted with extreme caution." It was first published at Lisbon in 1605, with the following title: *La Florida del Ynca. Historia del Adelantadô Hernando de Soto, Gobernador y capitan general del reyno de la Florida, y de otros heroicos cavalleros Españoles è Indios.* It was reprinted several times, the best edition being that of 1723, uniform with the Royal Commentaries; and was translated into French by Pierre Richelet, and published at Leyden in 1731.

A very curious manuscript fragment, in the handwriting of Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, is in the possession of Don Pascual de Gayangos. It appears to have been intended for a dedicatory epistle to be placed at the beginning of the Ynca's work on Florida, and

to have been addressed to the head of the Vargas family. It consists of a geneological account of the house of Vargas, followed by an abstract of the contents of the work, and an explanation of the system adopted by the author in its division into six books.

As years rolled on, the Ynca began to think more and more of the land of his birth. The memory of his boyish days, of his long evening chats with his Indian relations, and of the stirring times of the civil wars at Cuzco, came back to him in his old age. He was equally proud of his maternal descent from the mighty Yncas of Peru, as of the noble Castilian connection on his father's side. So when at last he resolved to write the story of his native land, his plan was to divide the work into two parts, one to contain a history of the Yncas and their civilisation—his maternal ancestry; and the other to be a record of the mighty deeds of the conquerors, amongst whom his gallant father was one of the foremost. It was a great undertaking, and when he began it he was full of apprehension lest he should not be spared to bring it to a conclusion. Fortunately for posterity the Ynca lived to a good old age, and completed both parts of his Royal Commentaries of Peru.

As soon as he had resolved to compose a history of Peru he wrote to all his surviving schoolfellows for assistance,* and received from them many traditions which enabled him to compile a connected history of the deeds of the different Yncas. He then carefully collated his own account with those given by Spanish

* P. 77.

historians, such as Ciera de Leon, Zarate, Gomara, and Acosta. He was also fortunate in getting possession of the papers of a missionary named Blas Valera, who had been in Peru during the first years of the conquest, and had taken great trouble in collecting all the traditions of the Indians, and in observing their laws and customs, at a time when the generation which had seen the Ynca empire in its glory was still living. Blas Valera was evidently a man of learning and a keen observer, and it is much to be regretted that more than half his papers were destroyed when the English sacked Cadiz in 1596.* The rest were given to the Ynca, after their author's death, and the information which had been so carefully collected was preserved in the pages of the Royal Commentaries.

The Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega is, without any doubt, the first authority on the civilisation of the Yncas and on the conquest of Peru.† His intimate knowledge of the Quichua language, his recollections of discourses with his mother's relations, and the correspondence he kept up with Peruvian friends in after

* P. 33.

† Mr. Prescott, in his *Conquest of Peru*, quotes—

Garcilasso de la Vega no less than	89	times
Polo de Ondegardo (MS.) -	41	„
Sarmiento (MS.) - - -	25	„
Cieza de Leon - - - -	20	„
Acosta - - - - -	19	„
Pedro Pizarro (MS.) -	14	„
Montesinos - - - -	8	„
Zarate - - - - -	7	„
Herrera - - - - -	6	„
Gomara - - - - -	2	„

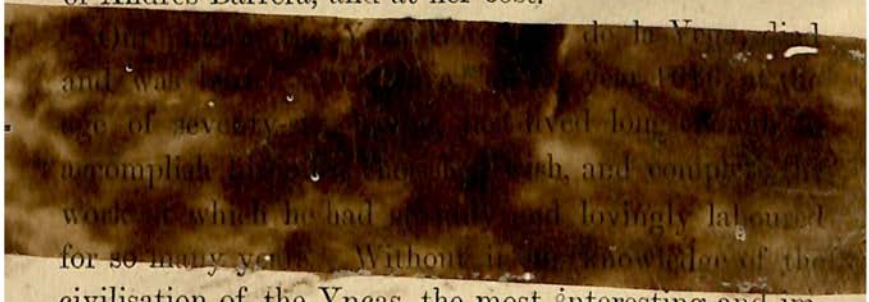
life, gives his testimony a weight and authority such as no Spaniard could lay claim to. The conversations he had heard at his father's house, where the old soldiers of Pizarro fought their battles over again, and his own personal recollections, also give his version of the conquest and of the subsequent civil wars a peculiar value.

The first part of the Royal Commentaries of Peru, divided into nine books, which has been selected by the Council of the Hakluyt Society for translation, contains a detailed history of the origin of Ynca civilisation in Peru, of the deeds and conquests of the successive sovereigns, and of the religion, institutions, and customs of the people. The story of the origin of the Yncas, as given by their descendant, was undoubtedly the one generally received by his mother's relations; and although both it and the reigns of the earlier Yncas are fabulous, yet they contain some foundation in fact, and are beyond dispute more authentic, as traditions, than the versions given by any of the Spanish historians. I have already, in the Introduction to my translation of Cieza de Leon,* given my reasons for believing that the historical period of Ynca history commences with Uira-ccocha (or Huira-ccocha), the eighth Ynca in our author's list. From his time the succession of sovereigns given by Cieza de Leon agrees with the more detailed narrative of Garcilasso de la Vega. The Ynca will be found a pleasant though rather a garrulous companion. His long historical narratives of the battles and conquests of the early Yncas often become tedious, and of this the

* P. I.

author is himself well aware. He, therefore, intersperses them with more entertaining chapters on the religious ceremonies, the domestic habits and customs of the Peruvian Indians, and on the advances they had made in medicine, poetry, music, astronomy, and other arts. He also frequently inserts an anecdote from the storehouse of his memory, or some personal reminiscence called forth by the subject on which he happens to be writing. He prided himself on being a strict Catholic, but at the same time he zealously and boldly defends his people, and shows a loving and tender regard for the reputation of his gentle mother's kindred, and their subjects, which does him honour, and cannot fail to enlist the sympathy of the reader.

The first part of the Royal Commentaries of Peru received the approbation and license of the Inquisition in 1604, and was published at Lisbon in 1609, dedicated to the Duchess of Braganza. The second part was first published at Cordova in 1617, "by the widow of Andres Barrera, and at her cost."



civilisation of the Yncas, the most interesting and important feature in the history of the New World, would indeed be limited.

* He was buried in the cathedral at Cordova, in a chapel called Garcilasso, where a monument was erected to his memory.

A second edition of the Royal Commentaries was published at Madrid in 1723; and a third (the two parts in four volumes 12mo.) appeared in Madrid in 1829.

The present translation has been made from the original Lisbon edition of 1609, collated with that of 1723.

An abridged English version of the Royal Commentaries appeared in London in 1688, having been "rendered into English" by Sir Paul Rycaut, Kt.,* and dedicated to James II. The worthy knight had a very slight knowledge of the Spanish language, and he did not scruple to make wild guesses at the meaning of sentences, and to omit whole chapters. Thus he only gives fourteen out of the twenty-six chapters in the first book, and sixteen out of the twenty-six in the second. Besides this very imperfect abridgment, there is no previous translation of the Royal Commentaries in English, though they have been published in French, German, and Italian. The French edition was translated by M. J. Bardouin, and was published at Amsterdam in 1737. The German version, by G. C. Böttger, is in two volumes 8vo. It was published at Nordhausen in 1798. It has been thought that the work of the Ynca, furnishing as it does the best account of the most civilised of the aboriginal American races, will form an acceptable additon to the Hakluyt Society's series.

* Sir Paul Rycaut was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and eighteen years consul at Smyrna. After dedicating his mutilated version of the *Royal Commentaries* to James II, he was appointed Resident at Hamburg. He also wrote a continuation of Knolles's *Turkish History* down to the peace of Carlowitz in 1699, which was published in 1700, and dedicated to William III.

FIRST PART

OF THE

ROYAL COMMENTARIES,

Which treats of the Origin of the Yncas,
Kings of Peru in former times, of their idolatries,
laws, and government in peace and war,
of their lives and conquests, and of
all things relating to that Empire
and its affairs, before the
Spaniards arrived
there.

Written by

THE YNCA GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA,
A Native of Cuzco, and Captain in His Majesty's Service.

Dedicated to

The Most Serene Princess, the Lady Catharine of Portugal,
Duchess of Braganza, etc.

With License from the Holy Inquisition.

IN LISBON
In the Office of Peter Crasbeeck.
In the Year 1609.

TO THE MOST SERENE PRINCESS

THE LADY CATHARINE OF PORTUGAL,

DUCHESS OF BRAGANZA,* ETC.

THE usual custom of ancient and modern writers is always to dedicate their works, the fruits of their genius, to generous monarchs and powerful kings and princes, that, owing to their countenance and protection, they may be more

* This lady was the daughter of the Portuguese Infant Dom Duarte, and grand-daughter of Manuel King of Portugal, who died in 1557. She was married to John Duke of Braganza. After the terrible rout at Alcazar, and the death of Dom Sebastian (grandson of King John III, and great grandson of King Manuel) in 1578, that unfortunate youth's uncle, the old Cardinal Henry, succeeded to the throne of Portugal. During his short reign of two years the various claimants to the Portuguese throne were heard. The one who had the best right was young Ranuccio, of Parma, whose mother was the eldest sister of the lady Catharine, Duchess of Braganza. Next came the Duchess herself, next the King of Spain, who claimed by right of his mother the Infanta Isabella, a sister of the Infant Dom Duarte. The Duke of Savoy claimed through his mother Beatrice, a sister of the Infanta Isabella; and Antonio, Prior of Crato, had the worst claim of all. He was an illegitimate son of Dom Luis, a brother of Dom Duarte. The claim of Catharine de Medicis was absurd.

When the old Cardinal King Henry died in 1580, Portugal fell to the strongest claimant, and was seized by Philip II. The Duchess of Braganza, instead of being Queen, had to be satisfied with a private station, and the patronage of authors. When the Ynca dedicated his Commentaries to her in 1609, she must have been about fifty years of age. Her son Theodore, Duke of Braganza, had a son John, who, when the Portuguese threw off the yoke of Spain in 1641, became their king, and founded the dynasty of Braganza.

Mariana says that when Philip II came to take possession of Portugal, he was received with great splendour at Yelves by the Duke of Braganza, and that the king afterwards visited his cousin the Duchess Catharine. *Historia de España*, x, lib. viii, cap. 6.

favoured by the virtuous, and more free from the calumnies of evil speakers. I am minded, O most serene Princess, in imitation of the example of other writers, to dedicate these Commentaries to your Highness, that they may find shelter under your royal protection. Your Highness is known, not only in Europe, but even in the most remote parts of the east, the west, the north, and the south, wherever the glorious princes, your Highness's ancestors, have planted the standard of our well-being and of their glory, at so great a cost of blood and of lives, as is notorious. It is also known to all how great is the generosity of your Highness, for this generosity is the child and descendant of the distinguished kings and princes of Portugal; and although your Highness may not think much of this virtue, yet when over the gold of such lofty rank the enamel of so heroic a virtue is cast, it should be valued very highly. When we behold the grace with which God our Lord has enriched the soul of your Highness, we find it to be even greater than the natural qualities, the piety, and the virtue, of which the whole world speaks with admiration; and I would say somewhat more without any sign of flattery, if your Highness did not hate these praises as much as you desire silence concerning your virtues. Those who have been or may be favoured by your royal countenance in the whole of these kingdoms, and in those abroad, are proclaimed in so many languages that neither they nor the favours of your royal hand can be numbered. Judging from this experience, I hope to receive favour and countenance for these my books, in proportion to my necessity. I confess that my audacity is great, and my whole service very small, though my wish to serve is sincere. This I also offer, protesting that if I should be deemed worthy, I am most ready to serve your Highness, whose royal person and house may our Lord watch over and bless. Amen. Amen.

The Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega.

PREFACE TO THE READER.

ALTHOUGH there have been curious Spaniards who have written accounts of the commonwealths of the New World, such as that of Mexico, that of Peru, and those of other kingdoms of heathendom, yet these accounts have not been so complete as they might have been. I have remarked this particularly in the accounts which I have seen written of affairs in Peru, concerning which, as a native of the city of Cuzco, the Rome of that empire, I have a fuller and clearer knowledge than has hitherto been supplied by any writer. It is true that former writers touch upon many of the great events which occurred in the empire of Peru, but they write them so briefly that (owing to the manner in which they are told) I am scarcely able to understand them. For this reason, and influenced by a natural love of my country, I undertook the task of writing these Commentaries, in which the events that happened in that land, before the arrival of the Spaniards, are clearly and distinctly set forth, as well touching the rites of their vain religion, as the government of their kings during peace and war, and all other things that relate to those Indians, from the lowest affairs of the vassals to the highest matters touching the royal crown. I only write concerning the events of the empire of the Yncas, without entering upon those of other monarchies, respecting which I have no knowledge. In the

text of the history I protest concerning its truth, and that I affirm no important circumstance that is not authorised by the Spanish historians, either in part or altogether. My intention is not to contradict them, but to supply a commentary and gloss, and to interpret many Indian words which they, as strangers in that land, gave a mistaken meaning to, as will be seen fully in the course of the history, which I offer to the piety of those who may read it, with no other desire than that it may be of service to Christendom; giving thanks to our Lord Jesu Christ and to the Virgin Mary his mother, for their merits and intercession, through which the eternal majesty was pleased to draw so many great nations out of the abyss of idolatry, and to bring them under the yoke of his Roman Catholic church, our mother and mistress. I trust that it will be received in the same spirit as I offer it, for it is the return which my intention deserves, although the work may not merit it. I am still writing two other books touching the events which took place in that land of mine, among the Spaniards, down to the year 1560, when I left it; and I desire to see them finished, that I may make the same offering of them as I do of this.

NOTES TOUCHING THE GENERAL LANGUAGE OF THE INDIANS OF PERU.

In order that the subject which, with the Divine blessing, we are about to treat of in this history may be better understood (for we shall have to use many words in the general language of the Indians of Peru), it will be well to give some account of the language of the Indians. The first thing worthy of remark is that their language has three different ways of pronouncing certain syllables, very different from the way in which Spanish is pronounced; and in this difference of pronunciation lie the differences in the meaning of a single word.* They pronounce some syllables with the lips, others on the palate, others in the throat, and we shall point out examples of this, as they occur. In accentuating their words, it must be known that they almost always place the emphasis on the penultimate syllable, seldom on the antepenultimate, and scarcely ever on the final syllable. I say this in spite of those who declare that barbarous words should have the accent on the last syllable, for they make this assertion because they do not understand the language. In the general language of

* Thus *Tanta* is a crowd, *Thanta* (with the *t* and *h* sounded separately) means ragged, and *Ttanta* (a double sound) is bread. Again, *Ppacha* means time, *Paccha* a fountain, *Pacha* the earth, and *Pachha* cloth.

Cuzco (for it is respecting this that I desire to speak, and not concerning the dialects of each province, which are innumerable) the following letters, *B*, *D*, *F*, *G*, *J*, and *L* single are wanting, but they have the double sound *Ll*. On the other hand they have no sound like the double *Rr*, either at the beginning or in the middle of a word, but that letter is always pronounced singly. Nor have they the letter *X*, so that altogether they want six letters of the Spanish *a b c*; indeed it may be said that they are without eight, counting the single *L* and the double *Rr*. When the Spaniards add these letters, they corrupt the language, and, as the Indians do not use them, they themselves do not pronounce properly the Spanish words which contain them. I, being an Indian, may properly avoid this corruption, and write this history as an Indian, and, in writing Indian words, may use the letters with which they ought to be written. Those who may read this history should not take it in bad part that I have adopted this novelty, in opposition to the incorrect system previously introduced, but should rather rejoice at being able to read these words written correctly and with purity. As I shall have to quote many things from the Spanish historians, to illustrate what I myself shall say, and as I shall have to write out their words with their corruptions just as they have written them, I desire to give notice that it cannot be considered a contradiction that I should, in these instances, write the letters which do not exist in that language, because I only do so in order to quote faithfully what the Spaniards have written.

It is also worthy of remark that there is no plural number in this general language of the Indians, although there are particles which denote plurality.* If I place any Indian

* The Ynca of course means that the plural is not formed in the same way as it is in the European languages with which he was acquainted, namely Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, and Latin. The ordinary form of the plural in the general language of the Yncas (or

word in the plural, it will be a Spanish corruption, and will be done because it would not sound well to place the Indian words in the singular, and the Spanish adjectives or relative pronouns in the plural.

There are many other things in this language which are very different from Spanish, Italian, and Latin. They have been noted by learned Creoles and Mestizos, and I now point some of them out that the language may be preserved in its purity, for it is assuredly a pity that so elegant a language should be lost or corrupted, especially as it is one in which the Fathers of the Holy Society of Jesus have worked (as well as other Fathers), that they may be able to speak it well: and by their good examples (which is of more consequence) the Indians have benefited much in the faith.*

Quichua), for nouns and participles, is the particle *cuna* added to the word; as *runa* (a man), *runa-cuna* (men). But *ñaui-cuna* means the eyes of several people, not those of one. A pair of eyes would be formed by *pura* (both), as *purap ñauiy* (my eyes). When the number is given, it is not necessary to use the particle *cuna*, as *chunca-punchau* (ten days), not *chunca-punchau-cuna*, although the use of *cuna* is admissible.

Chac, *chaquen* is a comparative plural, as *Anac-chac* (harder things), *Llallac-chac* (more timid people). *Chicachac* is a plural particle solely referring to size, *chica* meaning "as," or "as large as." *Ntin* is a termination for forming plurals when two or more persons or things are spoken of collectively, as *Aylluntin* (those of one family), *Cosantin* (husband and wife). Another form of plural is the repetition of the noun itself, as *runa* (a man), *runa-runa* (a crowd), *hacha* (a tree), *hacha-hacha* (a forest). *Markham's Quichua Grammar*, p. 22.

* The Dominican Friar Don Domingo de Santo Tomas, who laboured for many years among the Peruvian Indians, published the first grammar of the Quichua language. It was printed at Valladolid in 1569, with a vocabulary. This friar was the first doctor who graduated in the university in Lima. He supplied Cieza de Leon with much information respecting the Peruvian coast valleys, and that excellent author commends him as a notable searcher into the secrets of the Indians. He founded a Dominican monastery in the coast valley of Chacama. (See my translation of *Cieza de Leon*, printed for the Hakluyt Society.) Another Quichua grammar and vocabulary by Antonio Ricardo was printed at Lima in 1586, another by Diego de Torres Rubio at Seville

It must also be noted that the word *vecino* is understood in Peru to apply to those Spaniards who have *repartimientos** of Indians, and in that sense it will always be used, whenever it occurs in this history.

in 1603, a vocabulary by the Friar Juan Martinez at Lima in 1604, and another by the Jesuit Diego Gonzalez Holguin in 1608, also at Lima.

All these appeared before the Ynca published the first part of his Commentaries. Torres Rubio went through a second edition in 1619, a third in 1700, and a fourth in 1754. Holguin published a grammar in 1614, of which a second edition appeared at Lima in 1842. Don Alonzo de Huerta published a Quichua grammar at Lima in 1616; Diego de Olmos at Lima in 1633; Don Juan Roxo Mexia y Ocon, a native of Cuzco, at Lima in 1648; Estevan Sancho de Melgar at Lima in 1691; and another Quichua grammar was published by Juan de Vega, the physician who effected the first recorded cure by the use of Chinchona bark, which he administered to the Countess of Chinchon, Vice Queen of Peru, in about 1637. Von Tschudi published his *Kechua Sprache* at Vienna in 1853, being a Quichua grammar and dictionary, with specimens of the language. A missionary friar named Honorio Mossi published a Quichua grammar and dictionary at Sucre, in Bolivia. He gives no date, but dedicates it to Don Josè Maria Linares, who was President from 1858 to 1861. Finally, the present editor contributed something towards the study of the rich and copious language of the Yncas in 1864. (*Contributions towards a Grammar and Dictionary of Quichua, the Language of the Yncas of Peru*, by Clements R. Markham. Trübner, 1864.)

* *Vecino* means a neighbour, inhabitant, or citizen. In Peru, according to the Ynca, the word was applied to Spaniards who received grants of land and of Indians. Pizarro, in 1529, was empowered to grant *encomiendas* of land and *repartimientos* of Indians to his fellow conquerors, the Indians being bound to pay tribute or personal service to these holders of grants. In 1536 these grants were extended to two lives. In consequence of the intolerable exactions and cruelties of the Spaniards, Las Casas, and other friends of the Indians, induced Charles V to enact the code known as the "New Laws" in 1542, by which the grants were to pass to the crown on the deaths of the actual holders; those who had been engaged in the civil wars, and all Government officials being deprived at once. A fixed sum was settled to be paid as tribute by the Indians, and all forced labour was absolutely prohibited. But the "New Laws" were of course so unpopular among the conquerors that they were revoked in 1545. The President Gasca redistributed the *encomiendas* and *repartimientos* in 1550, and they were granted for three lives in 1629.

It must also be understood that in my time, which lasted down to the year 1560, and for twenty years afterwards, there was no coined money in my country. In place of it the Spaniards, in buying and selling, weighed the gold or silver by the marc or the ounce. And as in Spain they speak of ducats, so in Peru they speak of *pesos* or *Castellanas*.* Each *peso* of silver or of gold, reduced according to the correct rule, would be worth 450 *maravedis*; so that in reducing the *pesos* into ducats of Spain, every five *pesos* is worth six ducats. Thus the system of counting by *pesos* in this history will cause no confusion. The system of counting the quantity of *pesos* of silver in a *peso* of gold varies much, as it does in Spain; but the value is always the same. In exchanging gold for silver they give interest at so much per cent. There is also interest charged in exchanging assayed silver for silver which they call current, being that which is to be assayed.

The word *galpon* is not in the general language of Peru, but in that of the windward islands. The Spaniards have adopted it, with many others which will be pointed out in the history. It means a large hall. The kings Yncas had halls of this description, which were so large that festivals were held in them when the weather was rainy, and they could not be held in the open squares.† And this will suffice for preliminary notices.

* A *castellano* or *peso de oro* was worth £2 : 12 : 6 of our money.

† These vast halls are to be seen in the great *adobe* ruins at Hervay and Pachacamac on the coast, as well as at and near Cuzco. The Spaniards called them *galpones*. Hence the villages of slaves on modern *haciendas*, which are enclosed by high walls, are also called *galpones*.

THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE YNCAS,

WHICH TREATS OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD, THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD PERU, THE IDOLATRY AND CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS IN FORMER TIMES, THEIR ORIGIN, THE LIFE OF THE FIRST YNCA, WHAT HE DID WITH HIS FIRST VASSALS, AND THE MEANING OF THE ROYAL TITLES.

IT CONTAINS TWENTY-SIX CHAPTERS.

THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

WHETHER THERE ARE MANY WORLDS: ALSO TREATING OF THE FIVE ZONES.

HAVING to treat of the New World, or of the best and most important parts of it, which are the kingdoms and provinces of the empire called Peru, of whose antiquities and of the origin of whose kings we intend to write; it seems proper, and in conformity with the usual custom of authors, to treat here, at the beginning, of the question whether there is one world or many, if it is flat or round, and also whether heaven is flat or round, whether the whole earth is habitable or only the temperate zones, whether there is a way from one temperate zone to the other, whether there are antipodes, and other like matters. The ancient philosophers treated very largely and curiously on these subjects, and the moderns do not fail to argue and write on them, each following the opinion which best pleases him. But as this is not my chief subject, as the powers of an Indian cannot enable him to presume so far, and as experience, since the discovery of what they call the New World, has undeceived us touching most of these doubts, we will pass over them briefly, in order to go on to the other part of my subject, the conclusion of which I am fearful lest I should not reach. I may affirm, however, trusting in the infinite mercy, that, in the first place, there is only one world; and though we speak of the Old World and the New World, this is because the latter was lately discovered by us, and not because

there are two, but one only. And to those who still imagine that there are many worlds, there is no answer to be given except that they can remain in their heretical persuasions until they are undeceived in hell. Those who doubt, if there be any such, whether the world is flat or round, may be convinced by the testimony of men who have gone round it, or round the greater part, as those belonging to the ship *Victoria*,* and others. Respecting the heavens,

* The *Victoria* of 90 tons and 45 men was one of the five vessels which formed the squadron commanded by Magalhanes. She sailed, with her consorts, from San Lucar, on September 20th, 1519, on the memorable expedition to discover a way to the Spice Islands by the South Sea. The *Victoria* returned to San Lucar on the 6th of September, 1522, and was thus the first ship that ever circumnavigated the globe. She brought home a cargo of 533 quintals of cloves, cinnamon, nutmegs, and sandal wood. Magalhanes had been killed, in the previous year, at Zebu; but Sebastian del Cano, the pilot who brought home the *Victoria*, received from Charles V a pension of 500 ducats; a coat of arms charged with branches of clove, cinnamon, and nutmeg trees; a globe for a crest; and the motto *Primus circumdediste me.* The *Victoria* afterwards made a voyage to Santo Domingo, in the West Indies; returned safely; made a second voyage to the West Indies; sailed on her return to Spain, but never arrived, "so that it is not known what became of her, or of those who went in her."

The men who formed the crew of the *Victoria*, and to whose testimony, that the world is round, our author appeals in the text, were:—

1. Juan Sebastian del Cano	(Captn.)	16. Juan de Acurio	(Mariner)
2. Miguel de Rodas	(Master)	18. Lorenzo de Yruña	„
3. Martin de Insaurraga	(Pilot)	19. Juan de Ortega	„
4. Miguel de Rodas	(Mariner)	20. Pedro de Indarchi	„
5. Nicolas Griego	„	21. Ruger Carpintete	„
6. Juan Rodriguez	„	22. Pedro Gasco	„
7. Basco Gallego	„	23. Alfonso Domingo	„
8. Martin de Judicibus	„	24. Diego Garcia	„
9. Juan de Santander	„	25. Pedro de Balpuesta	„
10. Hernando de Bustamante	„	26. Ximeno de Burgos	„
11. Antonio Pigafetta	„	27. Juan Martin	„
12. Francisco Rodriguez	„	28. Martin de Magallanes	„
13. Antonio Fernandez	„	29. Francisco Alvo	„
14. Diego Gallego	„	30. Roldan de Argote	„
15. Juan de Arratia	„	31. Juan de Apega	„

whether they be flat or round, a reply may be given in the words of the Royal Prophet—*Extendens cœlum sicut pellem*, in which he desires us to see the form and method of the work, giving one as a similitude of the other, and saying:—that the heavens should be spread out like a skin; that is, that they should cover this great body of the four elements, even as a skin should cover the body of an animal, not only the main body but all its parts, how small soever they may be. As to those who affirm that the five parts of the world, which they call zones, are uninhabitable excepting the two that are temperate: that the central one, from its extreme heat, and the two end ones, from the great cold, are uninhabitable; and that it is impossible to pass from one temperate zone to the other, owing to the extreme heat between them; I am able to assure such persons that I was born in the torrid zone, that is in Cuzco, and was brought up in it until my twentieth year, and that I have been myself in the other temperate zone, on the other side of the tropic of Capricorn, to the south, at the extreme end of Charcas, where the Chichas live. I also passed through the torrid zone to come to this other temperate zone where I am now writing, and was three complete days under the equinoctial line, near the Cape of Pasau.* I therefore affirm that the torrid zone is habitable, as well as the temperate zones. I wish I could speak of the cold zones as an eye-witness, as I can of the other three; but I must hand them over to those who know more about them than I do. I would reply to those who say that, owing to their extreme cold they are uninhabitable, that they also may be lived in, like the rest. For it cannot reasonably be imagined that God should have made so large

In 1847 the Council of the Hakluyt Society approved of the drawing of the ship *Victoria* taken from Hulsius, and compared with that given by Amoretti in his edition of Pigafetta's voyage of Magalhanes, as a vignette; and this famous ship has ever since embellished the covers of all the volumes printed for the Hakluyt Society.

* Cape Passaos is in latitude 0° 20′ S.

a part of the world useless, after creating all to be inhabited by man; and it may be supposed that the ancients were deceived in what they said about the cold zones, as they were about the torrid zone. It ought rather to be believed that the Lord, as a wise and powerful Father, and Nature, as a pious and universal Mother, have remedied the extreme cold by temperate warmth, just as they have tempered the heat of the torrid zone with so much snow, and so many fountains, rivers, and lakes as are found in Peru. That country is varied by many changes of temperature, some parts become hotter and hotter until those regions are reached which are so low and so hot as to be almost uninhabitable, as the ancients said. Other regions get colder and colder until such a height is reached that that land also becomes uninhabitable, owing to the cold of perpetual snow. This is contrary to what the philosophers said of the torrid zone, for they never imagined that it was possible to have perpetual snow under the equinoctial line, without melting at all, at least on the great Cordillera, whatever it may do on the slopes and ravines. It must, therefore, be understood, that in the torrid zone, within the region over which Peru extends, heat and cold does not consist in proximity to, or distance from, the equinoctial; but in the height or lowness of the land, and the difference is seen on a very short distance, as I shall relate more at length, presently. I say, then, that this would lead to the belief that the cold zones are temperate and habitable, as many grave authors hold, though not from personal knowledge or experience. But it is sufficient that God himself has given us to understand as much; for when he created man he said, "Increase and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it."* From this we may know that it is habitable; for if it were not, it could not be subdued, nor filled with inhabitants. I trust in His Omnipotence that, in His own time, He will disclose

* Genesis i, 27.

these secrets (as He disclosed the New World)* for the great confusion and dismay of those audacious ones who, with their natural philosophies and human understanding, desire to measure the power and wisdom of God, as if He could not perform His works in a way which they cannot imagine, there being as much disparity between one intelligence and the other, as there is between the finite and the infinite.

CHAPTER II.

WHETHER THERE ARE ANTIPODES.

To the question whether there are Antipodes or not, it may be replied that, the world being round (as is notorious), it is certain that there are. But for my part I hold that, the lower part of this world not having been completely discovered, it cannot certainly be known what provinces are the antipodes of those on this side, as some affirm. This may be said more truly of the heavens than of the earth; for the poles are opposite each other, and so are the east and west, at any point on the equinoctial.† Nor can it be cer-

* This advocacy of an expedition to explore the unknown Polar regions does infinite credit to the Ynca.

† Most of the old writers on America considered it *de rigueur* to commence their books, on what subject soever they might treat, with a dissertation on the shape of the earth, on the question whether there be antipodes, or on the peopling of the different continents. Father Acosta devotes two chapters to the antipodes, one to disprove the idea of Lactantius that there are no antipodes, and the other to explain away a similar heresy on the part of St. Augustine. Lactantius derided the idea of men being able to stand on their heads; while the objection of St. Augustine merely rested on the vastness of the ocean, and on the very natural belief that it could not be crossed, a belief which he shared with Gregory Nazianzen, and other writers. *Historia natural y moral de las Indias compuesta por el Padre Joseph de Acosta*, lib. i, cap. 7 and 8, Madrid, 1608.

tainly known whence so many tribes of such different languages and customs, as are found in the New World, can have come from. For if it be said that they came by the sea in ships, there arise difficulties touching the animals that are found in the New World, for how and in what manner could they have been embarked, some of them being more noxious than useful. If it be supposed that they came by land, still greater difficulties arise; for if the domesticated animals of the Old World were brought that way, how is it that others were not brought which have since been conveyed to the New World? If it be that they could not bring so many, how is it that they did not leave behind some of those that are met with? The same may be said of the corn, pulses, and fruit, which are so different from those of the Old World, that with reason they named this a New World. For it is so in all things, as well as regards the tame and wild animals and the food, as the men, who are generally beardless. Therefore, in a matter of such uncertainty, the trouble that is taken to solve it is wasted; so I will leave it alone, especially as I possess less competence than another to inquire into it. I shall only treat of the origin of the Kings Yncas, and of their succession, conquests, laws, and government in peace and war; but before we enter upon these subjects, it will be well that we should say how this New World was discovered, and presently we will discourse more particularly of Peru.

CHAPTER III.

HOW THE NEW WORLD WAS DISCOVERED.

Near the year 1484, one year more or less, a pilot, native of the town of Huelva,* in the county of Niebla,† named

* A seaport of Andalusia, close to Palos, whence Columbus sailed on his first voyage to America. It will be remembered that when Columbus, on his arrival in Spain, asked for charity at the door of the convent of

Alonzo Sanchez de Huelva, had a small ship, with which he traded on the sea, and brought certain merchandise from Spain to the Canaries, where he sold it profitably. And in the Canaries he loaded his ship with the fruits of those islands, and took them to the island of Madeira, and thence he returned to Spain, laden with sugar and conserves. While he was engaged in this triangular voyage, on the passage from the Canaries to Madeira, he encountered so heavy a squall that he was obliged to run before it for twenty-eight or twenty-nine days, during the whole of which time he could not take an altitude, either for his latitude or his course. The crew of the ship suffered the greatest hardships in the storm; for they could neither eat nor sleep. At the end of this long time the wind went down, and they found themselves near an island. It is not known for certain what island it was, though it is supposed to have been the island which is now called St. Domingo. It is very worthy of note that the wind which drove that ship with so much fury and violence could not have been other than the *Solano*, as the east wind is called; for the island of St. Domingo is to the westward of the Canaries, and the wind in that quarter usually appeases rather than raises a storm. But the Almighty Lord, when he wishes to show his mercy, takes the most mysterious things for their opposites: thus he took water from a rock, and sight for the blind from the mud placed in his eyes, in order that these works might the more evidently show the Divine mercy and goodness. He also displayed his piety in sending his Evangelist and true light over the whole of the New World, which was in so much need of it. For the people were living, or rather

Rabida, near Palos, he was on his way to the neighbouring town of Huelva, to seek his brother-in-law.

+ Niebla is a town of Andalusia, on the river Tinto, not far from Huelva. Don Juan Alonzo de Guzman was created Count of Niebla by Henry II in 1371; and this title was always assumed by the eldest sons of his descendants the Dukes of Medina Sidonia.

perishing, in the darkness of a heathenism and idolatry most barbarous and bestial, as we shall see in the course of this history.

The pilot went on shore, took an altitude, and wrote down all the particulars of what he saw, and what happened at sea, both going and coming. Having taken in wood and water, he returned in much doubt, without knowing the direction he should take, and he lost much time. Owing to the length of the voyage, the failure of water and provisions, and the great hardships they had suffered, many of the crew began to fall sick and die, insomuch that, out of seventeen men who sailed from Spain, only five reached Terceira, among whom was the pilot Alonzo Sanchez de Huelva. They went to the house of the famous Genoese, Christoval Colon, the great Pilot and Cosmographer, who constructed sea cards. Colon received them with much kindness, and was glad to learn all that had happened in so strange and long a voyage as that which they said they had undergone. But they arrived so shattered by their past hardships that, in spite of the attentions of Christoval Colon, he could not restore them to health, and they all died in his house, leaving him heir to the work which had caused their death. The great Colon accepted the work with zeal and vigour, having suffered even greater hardships himself (for they lasted longer), and he started on the enterprise of giving a New World and its riches to Spain, as was blazoned on his arms, saying,—

To Castilla and to Leon
A New World has given Colon.

Whosoever wishes to learn the great deeds of this worthy, should read the General History of the Indies which Francisco Lopez de Gomara wrote; for this same work of the conquest and discovery is the one which gives most praise and renown to the most famous amongst famous men. I

have only added this, because it was wanting in the narrative of that ancient historian, who wrote at a distance from the places where the events took place, receiving tidings from those who came and went, who related many things that happened, but imperfectly. But I heard them in my country from my father and his contemporaries; for in those days their most common conversation was concerning the notable events which happened in their conquests. On these occasions they related what I have said, and other things that I shall recount presently; for, as they had met many of the first discoverers and conquerors of the New World, they heard from them the full account of these events; and I, as I have said, though but a boy, heard them from my elders. Thus the slight attention I then gave to them, will enable me now to write concerning many events of great importance, which relate to this history. I shall say all that I have retained in my memory, with sorrow for that which I have forgotten. The very Reverend Father José de Acosta also relates this history of the discovery of the New World, with regret that he cannot give it complete; for his paternity also wanted a portion of the narrative, like some more modern authors, the ancient conquerors had already passed away when his paternity visited these parts; concerning whom he says these words in his first book and nineteenth chapter:—

"Having shown that there is no ground for thinking that the first inhabitants of the Indies have reached them by navigation undertaken for that end, it follows that, if they came by sea, it must have been by chance, and by the force of tempests, that they arrived at the Indies; and this, notwithstanding the vastness of the ocean, is not incredible. For the same thing happened in the discovery of our own time, when that mariner (whose name even is unknown to us, that so great a business may not be attributed to any other author but God) having, by reason of a terrible and long continued storm, reached the New World, left as pay-

ment of the hospitality of Christoval Colon the news of so great an event. So it may be," etc.

Thus far is from the Father Acosta, taken word for word, whence it appears that his paternity had heard a part of our information in Peru, though not all. This, then, was the origin and first beginning of the discovery of the New World, of which honour the little town of Huelva may boast, having produced a son, from whose narrative Christoval Colon received such conviction, that he insisted all the more in his demand, promising things that had never been seen or even heard of, but preserving the secret of them like a prudent man. He, however, gave his account of it, in confidence, to some persons of great authority about the persons of the Catholic kings, who aided him to start on his enterprise. But if it had not been for this notice given by Alonzo Sanchez de Huelva, he could not have promised such things out of his own imagination as a cosmographer, nor have started so readily on his voyage of discovery. For, according to the historian, Colon did not take more than sixty-eight days in his voyage to the island Guanatianico,* though he was delayed a few days at Gomera for supplies.† Now, if he had not known, from the account given by Alonzo Sanchez, what course to take in a sea so vast, it would be almost a miracle to have gone there in so short a time.‡

* Guanahani.

† Columbus sailed from Palos on August 3rd, 1492, from Gomera, one of the Canary Isles, on September 8th, and sighted the island of Guanahani on October 12th: seventy days from Palos, and thirty-four from Gomera.

‡ The story of Alonzo Sanchez de Huelva having discovered America before Columbus was first noticed by Oviedo in his *History of the Indies*, published in 1535, as a rumour without foundation, but he does not give the name of the pilot. Gomara, in his *History of the Indies*, published in 1552, says:—"A *caravel*, navigating our ocean sea, met with so strong an east wind, and so continuous, that she was driven to an unknown land, neither placed on the map nor on the sea chart. She re-

turned thence in many more days than she went, and when she arrived she had no one on board than the pilot and two or three mariners, who, being sick from hunger and hard work, died shortly afterwards in the port. Here we have the way in which the Indies were discovered, but to the disinherison of him who first saw them, for he ended his life without enjoying them, and without even leaving the memory of his name, nor of whence he came, nor of the year of his discovery. This was no fault of his, but owing to the malice of others, or the envy of what they call fortune. We must do without the name of that pilot, for all that was known of him died with him. Some make this pilot an Andalusian, who was trading to the Canaries and Madeira, when he was forced into that long and fearful voyage. Others would have him to be a Biscayan, trading with England and France; and others say that he was a Portuguese, on his way to or from India. There are also those who say he brought the *caravel* to Portugal, others who say he arrived at Madeira, and others at the Azores. But they all agree that this pilot died in the house of Christoval Colon, in whose power the journals of the *caravel*, and the narrative of all that long voyage remained, with the bearings and latitude of the lands lately seen and discovered.....Colon married in Portugal, or, as some say, in the island of Madeira, where I believe that he was living at the time when the above mentioned *caravel* arrived there. He entertained the master of her in his house, who related to him the events of the voyage, and how he had seen new lands that they might be entered on a sea chart which he had brought. The pilot died, leaving the narrative, map, and latitude of the new land, and thus Christoval Colon had notice of the Indies.....Christoval Colon was not learned, but he was very intelligent, and, having obtained tidings of this new land from the dead pilot, he learnt from scholars what the ancients had said touching other lands and worlds.....The pilot and mariners who discovered the Indies being dead, Christoval Colon proposed to go in search of them." (*Historia de las Indias de Francisco Lopez de Gomara*, Barcia, cap. xiii, xiv, xv, p. 32-34.)

Benzoni repeats the story as told by Gomara, adding—"We may believe that Gomara would set himself to confute the truth with many inventions, and that he had a wish to diminish the immortal fame of Christopher Columbus, as there were many who could not endure that a foreigner and an Italian should have acquired so much honour and so much glory, not only for the Spanish kingdom, but also for the other nations of the world." (*History of the New World by Girolamo Benzoni of Milan, showing his travels in America from* A.D. 1541 *to* 1566, translated by Admiral Smyth, p. 15. Printed for the Hakluyt Society.) Acosta, as quoted in the text, also mentions the story, and Mariana, in his *History of Spain*, refers to it in the following words:—"The occasion and beginning of this new navigation and discovery was after this manner. A certain ship was blown off the coast of Africa, where she

was occupied in the trade of those parts, by a violent storm, and carried to certain unknown lands. After some days had passed away, and the tempest had gone down, they set out on their voyage home, but nearly all the passengers and mariners died of hunger and hardships. The master, with three or four companions, finally reached the island of Madeira. Christoval Colon, a Genoese by nation, happened to be there. He was married in Portugal, and had much experience in the art of navigation. He was a man of a great heart and lofty thoughts. He entertained the master of that ship in his inn, who died soon afterwards, and left the memorials and notices of all that voyage in the power of Colon. This may have been the true motive, or it may have been the astrology in which he was versed, or, as others say, it may have been the information given by one Marco Polo, a Florentine physician, which made him come to the conclusion that at the other end of the known world, towards the point where the sun sets, there were very great and extensive countries." (*Historia General de España, compuesta por el Padre Juan de Mariana,* tom. vi, lib. xxvi, cap. 3, p. 308, Madrid, 1794.) This part of Mariana's great work was first published in 1609, the same year in which the Ynca's account saw the light, at Lisbon.

But Garcilasso de la Vega, in the text, gives the most circumstantial version of the story, with the date, the name of the pilot, and several other particulars. He wrote one hundred and twenty years after the event, and the conversations of his father and the other conquerors which he recollected, must have taken place some forty years earlier.

Washington Irving (*Life of Columbus,* Appendix No. XI) considers that the story is altogether unworthy of credit, as having been derived entirely from the unfounded statement of Gomara, which, in the course of some sixty years, got arranged into the regular narrative, with name and dates, as given by Garcilasso de la Vega. In the opinion of Washington Irving it is disproved by the fact that "Columbus communicated his idea of discovery to Paulo Toscanelli of Florence in 1474, ten years previous to the date assigned by Garcilasso de la Vega for this occurrence." Yet the fact that Columbus had developed his theory in a correspondence with Toscanelli in 1474, by no means disproves the statement that its truth was confirmed to him by the pilot who is said to have died in his house, in 1484. The story told by Garcilasso, though partially confirmed by Oviedo and Gomara, rests on the conversations he had heard in his youth, between men who, though doubtless well acquainted with the history of those times, were not contemporaries of Columbus. They must, in their turn, have heard the story at second hand. Yet there is nothing improbable in it, and it was certainly very generally adopted by subsequent authors. Herrera, however, never alludes to it.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD "PERU."

As we are about to treat of Peru, it will be well if we say here from what the name is derived, the Indians having no such word in their language. It must be known then that Vasco Nunez de Balboa, a native of Xeres de Badajoz, discovered the South Sea in the year 1513, and he was the first Spaniard who ever saw it. The Catholic Kings granted him the title of Adelantado of that sea, with the conquest and government of the kingdoms that might be discovered on its shores. During the few years that he lived after receiving this favour (until his own father-in-law, the Governor Pedro Arias de Avila, in place of many favours which he had deserved, and which his deeds merited, cut off his head) this knight was careful to discover what manner of land it was, and by what name it was known, that runs from Panama onwards towards the South. With this object he built three or four ships, which, while he made the necessary preparations for his discovery and conquest, he sent at different times of the year, each one singly, to explore the coast. The ships, having made such progress as they were able, returned with an account of many lands that there are along that shore. One ship went beyond the others and passed the equinoctial line to the south; and near it, while sailing along the coast, according to the method of navigating which was in use at that time, an Indian was seen fishing, at the mouth of one of the numerous rivers which fall into that sea. The Spaniards in the ship, with all possible caution, landed four of their party who were excellent runners and swimmers, at a distance from the place where the Indian stood, so that he might not

get away either by land or water. Having taken this precaution, the rest passed before the Indian in the ship, that he might fix his eyes on it, and become careless and unmindful of the ambush. The Indian, on seeing a thing so strange on the sea as a ship with all sail set, wondered greatly, and remained in a state of utter astonishment, bewildered with imagining what that could be which he beheld on the sea before him. He was so wrapped up in wonder, that those who had come to seize him had secured him before he knew they were coming, and so they took him on board with much rejoicing. The Spaniards having caressed him, that he might recover from his fear at seeing men with beards and in strange dresses, asked him by signs and words, what land that was, and what it was called. The Indian understood that they were asking him something by the signs and gestures they were making with hands and face, as to a dumb person, but he did not understand what they asked. He therefore answered quickly, lest they should do him some mischief, and gave his own name, saying, *Berù*; adding another, *Pelù*. He intended to say, "if you ask me what I am called, I reply *Berù*, and if you ask where I was, I answer that I was in the river". For the word *Pelù*, in the language of that province, is a noun signifying generally a river, as we shall presently see in a grave author. To a similar question, the Indian, in our history of Florida, replied with the name of his master, saying *Breços* and *Bredos* (lib. vi, chap. 15). The Christians understood that the Indian had replied to the question correctly, as if he and they had been talking in Castillian, and from that time, which was in the year 1515 or 1516, they called that rich and mighty empire by the name of Peru, corrupting both words, as the Spaniards corrupt almost every word that they take from the language of the Indians of that land. Thus if they take the name of the Indian *Berù*, they change the B for a P, and in using the name *Pelù*, which means a river, they

change the L for an R, and in one way or another they turned it into Peru. Others, who desire to be considered more polished, and these are the most modern, further corrupt the letters, and write *Pirù* in their histories. The more ancient historians, such as Pedro de Cieza de Leon, the accountant Agustin de Zarate, Francisco Lopez de Gomara, Diego Fernandez of Palencia, and even the most Reverend Father Friar Geronimo Roman, all call it *Perù*, and not *Pirù*. As the place where this happened was ascertained to be within the boundary of the dominions held by the Kings Yncas, having been conquered and annexed to their empire, they called the whole country *Perù*, from this place, which is in the land of Quitu, as far as Charcas, including the principal districts governed by the Yncas, and extending for more than seven hundred leagues in length; though their empire reached to Chile, which is five hundred leagues further on, and is another very rich and fertile kingdom.*

* The Adelantado Pascual de Andagoya gives a different origin to the name PERU. He says that, in 1522, having been appointed Inspector-General of the Indians by old Pedrarias, the Governor of Panama, he made an expedition to a province called *Birú*, which had first been visited by Gaspar de Morales and Francisco Pizarro, who called it the territory of the Cacique *Birú*. This country appears to have been on the borders of the Pacific, a little south of the Isthmus of Panama. Andagoya declares that he here received accounts concerning all the coast, and everything that was afterwards discovered, as far as Cuzco. He says that the province was subsequently called *Pirú*, because one of the letters of *Birú* was corrupted, but that in reality there is no country of that name. Andagoya gave up his prior claim to the prosecution of further discoveries, owing to an illness brought on by having fallen into the sea off the coast of this country, which he calls *Birú*. The right of discovery was then conceded by Pedrarias to Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque; and Pizarro sailed in November 1524. He acted contrary to Andagoya's advice in touching at this country of Birú, where as many as twenty-seven of his crew died at a place called Puerto de la Hambre. Pizarro returned to Panama in 1528. See my translation of the *Narrative of Pascual de Andagoya*, p. 42. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1865.

CHAPTER V.

AUTHORITIES IN CONFIRMATION OF THE NAME "PERÙ.

This was the beginning and origin of the name PERÙ, so famous in the world, and with reason, seeing that it has filled the world with gold and silver, with pearls and precious stones. But as it was adopted by accident, the native Indians of Peru, though it is seventy-two years since they were conquered, have not taken this word into their mouths, it being a name they had not themselves given. They now know what it means, through their intercourse with the Spaniards, but they do not use it, because they had no generic name in their language to designate the kingdoms and provinces, which their kings ruled over, collectively; such as Spain, Italy, or France, which contain many provinces. They called each province by its own name, as will be seen at large in this work, but they had no word which signified the whole kingdom together. They called it Ttahuantin-suyu,* which means the four quarters of the world. The name Berù, as we have seen, was the proper name of an Indian, and is a word used among the Indians of the plains and on the sea-coast, but is unknown in the mountains, and in the general language. For, as in Spain, there are words and names which indicate from what province they are derived, so it is also among the Indians of Peru. That the word Peru was imposed by the Spaniards, and that it was not in the ordinary language of the country, we are given to understand by Pedro de Cieza de Leon in

* *Ttahua* is the number four in Quichua, *ntin* is a termination for forming the plural when two or more things are spoken of collectively, and *Suyu* is a province. *Ttahuantin-suyu* means literally "The four Provinces."

his third chapter, where, speaking of the island called Gorgona, he says:—

"The Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro, with thirteen Spanish Christians, was many days on this island, and suffered much from hunger and exposure, until at last God was well served by the discovery of the provinces called PERU."

In the thirteenth chapter he says:—

"'Wherefore it will be necessary that from Quito, the point where that country which we call PERU truly commences," etc.

In the eighteenth chapter he says:—

"From the accounts given us by the Indians of Cuzco, it may be gathered that formerly there were great disorders in the provinces of this kingdom, which we call PERU," etc.

To speak of Peru so many times and always with this phrase *we call*, is to give us to understand that the Spaniards used the word, and that the Indians had no such name in their general language, to which I also, as an Ynca, can testify. The same, and much more, says Father Acosta in the first book of his *Natural History of the Indies* (chap. xiii), where, speaking on this subject, he tells us:—

"It has been a very common custom, in these discoveries of the New World, to give names to provinces and harbours on the first occasion that offers, and this is what is understood to have happened in naming the kingdom of Peru. It is the belief there that from a river, at which the Spaniards first arrived, and which was called by the natives Pirù, they entitled the whole land Pirù. And it is a proof of the truth of this story, that the Indian natives of Peru neither use nor know of such a name for their country."

The authority of this author will suffice to confound the novelties that have since been invented concerning the name of Peru. And as the river, which the Spaniards call Peru, is in the same region and very near the equator, it

may be that the capture of the Indian gave rise to the river, as well as the country, being called by his proper name of *Berù*: or it may be that the word *Pelù*, which was common to all rivers, was turned into a special name by the Spaniards, who called this river only the river *Perù*.

Francisco Lopez de Gomara, in his *General History of the Indies*, speaking of the discovery of Yucatan (chap. 52), gives two derivations of names very similar to that which has been given of Peru, and for this reason I will here extract what he says, which is as follows:—

"Francisco Hernandez de Cordova then set out, and in time reached the other cape, and, owing to his desire to make discoveries, he went on shore in a land unknown to us, where there are salt pans on a point called "the Cape of Women." It was so named because there were found there some stone towers, with steps and chapels, roofed with poles and thatch, in which there were many idols resembling women, set out in rows. The Spaniards wondered to see stone buildings, as hitherto none had been observed, and that the people should dress so richly, for they had shifts and mantles of white and coloured cotton, plumes, and bracelets of gold and silver. The women covered their bosoms and heads. The Spaniards did not stop there, but went on to another point, which was called Cotoche, where there were some fishermen, who fled inland in terror, and answered *Cotohe, Cotohe* (which means a house), thinking that they were asked for the village. From that time the Cape retained the name of Cotoche. A little further on they came upon some men, who were asked the name of a large village close by. They replied, *Tectetan, Tectetan*, which meant that they did not understand. The Spaniards thought it was the name of the village, and, corrupting a syllable, they always called it *Yucatan*, a name which will never cease to be used."

So far Francisco Lopez de Gomara, extracted word for

word. It shows that in many other parts of the Indies the same thing has fallen out as in Peru, and that the first words spoken by the Indians have been given as the names of their countries, the Spaniards not knowing the meaning of the words, and fancying that the Indians replied correctly to the questions that were put to them, as if all had been talking in the same language. The same error has been committed in many other things relating to this New World, but especially in our empire of Peru, as may be noted in numerous passages of this history.

CHAPTER VI.

WHAT A CERTAIN AUTHOR SAYS TOUCHING THIS NAME OF PERU.

Besides what has been said touching the name of Peru by Pedro de Cieza, José de Acosta, and Gomara, I shall now offer the authority of another distinguished author, a priest of the holy Society of Jesus, named Father Blas Valera, who wrote a history of that empire in most elegant Latin, and who was able to have written it in many languages, for he had the gift of learning them. But it was the misfortune of my native country, which perhaps did not deserve to be written of in such a manner, that his papers were lost in the ruin and pillage of Cadiz by the English in 1596. He himself died soon afterwards. I received the fragments of papers which were rescued from the pillage, and they caused me regret and sorrow at the loss of those which were destroyed. More than half were lost. I was presented with these papers by the Father Maldonado de Saavedra, a native of Seville, of the same Company, who in the present year 1600 reads the Scripture in the city of Cordova.

The Father Valera, touching the derivation of the word

Peru, says, in his elegant Latin, what follows, which I, an Indian, have translated into my unpolished romance.

"The kingdom of Peru is famous, illustrious, extensive, and contains so great a quantity of gold, silver, and other rich metals, that the abundance of them gave rise to the saying 'he possesses Peru,' instead of 'the man is rich.' The name was recently given to this empire of the Yncas by the Spaniards. It was adopted accidentally, and both because it was unknown to the Indians, and because it sounds so barbarous and hateful to them that none of them will use it, it is only used by the Spaniards. The imposition of the new name did not imply wealth, nor any other notable thing; but as it was new, so also it signified riches in a certain sense, because they proceeded from the successful events which gave rise to the name. This word *Pelù* is one which signifies a river among the barbarous Indians who inhabit the sea-coast between Panama and Huayaquil. It is also the proper name of a certain island, which is called Pelua or Pelu. As the Spanish conquerors, navigating from Panama, arrived first at these places, they were pleased with this name of Perù or Pelua, thinking it must mean something grand and important, so they adopted it to give to any other discovery they might make, and so they called the whole empire of the Yncas by the name of Peru. There were many who were not pleased with this name of Peru, and they called the country New Castille. These two names were given to that grand empire, and they are commonly used by the royal scribes and ecclesiastical notaries, although in Europe they prefer the name Peru to the other. Many also affirm that this name was derived from *Pirua*, which is a word of the Quechuas* of Cuzco, meaning a

* This is the first occasion on which the general language of the Yncas was called Quechua or Quichua, the language of the Quechuas. Garcilasso himself invariably calls it the general language of Peru; but in the first grammar of the language, by Friar Domingo de Santo Tomas,

granary where the crops are stored up. I cheerfully coincide in this opinion, because the Indians have many granaries in which to keep their grain, and it was easy for the Spaniards to use the word, and to say Piru, by leaving out the final vowel, and placing the accent on the last syllable. This word was adopted by the first conquerors as a name for the empire they had conquered, and I shall use it also, without any change, saying Perù and Pirù.

"The introduction of this new word ought not to be repudiated by saying that it was improperly adopted, because the Spaniards found no other generic name for the whole country. Each province had its own name, as Charcas, Collas, Cuzco, Rimac, Quitu, and many others, without reference to the neighbouring region. After the Incas had subjugated the whole empire, the provinces were named according to the order of the conquests, and finally they were called TAHUANTIN-SUYU, that is to say, '*the four parts of the empire,*' or YNCAP RUNAM,* which means '*the vassals of the Ynca.*' The Spaniards, seeing the variety and confusion of these names, judiciously adopted the names of Peru or New Castille," etc.

This is from Blas Valera, who also, like Father Acosta, says that the name was given by the Spaniards, and that the Indians have no such word in their language.

printed at Valladolid in 1560, it is called Quichua. Mossi, the author of a Quichua dictionary, gives the following derivation of the word. *Quehuani* is to twist; the participle is *Quehuasca*, twisted. *Ychu* is straw—together *Quehuasca-ychu*, twisted straw; corrupted and abbreviated into *Quichua*. The hot low valleys in Peru are called *Yunca*, the more temperate intermediate slopes and plateaux *Quichua*, and the lofty heights *Puna*. *Quichua*, therefore, is an Indian who inhabits the temperate slopes, so called from the abundance of straw in that region. It is the name which seems to have been adopted by the first Ynca for his people. See *Gramatica de la lengua general del Peru, llamada Quichua, con diccionario: por el R. P. Fray Honorio Mossi (Misionero). Sucre*, 1857.

* *Yncap* the genitive case of *Ynca*. *Runa*, a man.

Having thus quoted what Father Blas Valera has written on this subject, I must say that it is more likely that the adoption of the name Peru originated from the proper name *Berù*, or from the word *Pelù*, which in the language of that province means a river, than from the word *Pirua*, which signifies a granary.* For, as has been said, the name was given by the followers of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, who did not go inland so as to become acquainted with the word *Pirua;* and not by the conquerors of Peru. Fifteen years before they set out on that conquest, the Spaniards who lived at Panama, called all the coast south of the Equator by the name of Peru. This is certified by Francisco Lopez de Gomara, in his *History of the Indies* (chap. 110), where he uses these words:—"Some say that Balboa received an account of how that land of Peru contained gold and emeralds. This may or may not be, but it is certain that there was a great rumour concerning Peru in Panama, when Pizarro and Almagro were arming to go there." Thus far from Gomara, whence it is clear that the name of Peru was adopted long before the coming of the conquerors who subdued that empire.†

CHAPTER VII.

OF OTHER DERIVATIONS OF NEW WORDS.

As the adoption of the name of Peru does not stand alone, we will treat of other similar names which were given before and after it: for though we shall thus anticipate a little, it will not be amiss to do so, that their origin may be known when we come to them in their places. And the first shall

* More correctly *Pirhua*.

† See ante, note at p. 29.

be Puerto Viejo,* because it is near the place where the name of Peru originated. It must be known then that the sea from Panama to the city of the kings is navigated with much difficulty, owing to the currents and the southerly winds, which are always met with on that coast. By reason of these foul winds ships were obliged to sail out of a port on one tack for twenty or thirty leagues, and to return to the coast on the other, and in this manner they navigated the coast, always sailing on a bowline. It often happens that when a vessel does not sail well on a wind, she finds herself further to leeward than when she started from the coast. When Francis Drake, the Englishman, entered by the Straits of Magellan, he learnt a better way of navigating, by extending the length of the tacks for three or four hundred leagues out to sea. The pilots had never attempted this before, because, without knowing on what grounds except their own imaginations, they were persuaded and fearful that at a distance of a hundred leagues from the land there were great calms on the sea, and so they kept closer in shore. Owing to this apprehension, we nearly lost our ship, when I went to Spain, for a squall carried us close into the island of Gorgona, where we expected to perish, being unable to get out of that dangerous bay. A ship, then, was navigating in the manner I have described, soon after the conquest of Peru, and having gone out to sea on one tack six or seven times from that port, she always struck the coast again at the same point. One of the crew, vexed that they could not work to windward, said—"Here is our old port again!" and from that time it was called Puerto Viejo.

The point of Santa Elena, which is near Puerto Viejo, was so named because they came to it on her day.

Another name was adopted long before. In the year 1500, a ship was sailing under the command either of

* Puerto Viejo is a seaport in 1° 2′ S. lat. It was founded by Francisco Pacheco on March 12th, 1535, by order of Almagro.

Vicente Yanez Pinzon or of Juan de Solis (two bold captains in the discovery of new lands) in search of undiscovered regions (for in those days the Spaniards thought of little else), and the crew were anxious to find the main land, for hitherto nothing had been discovered but the islands, now known as the Windward Isles. At last a sailor got sight of the high mountain called Caperà, which rises above the city of Nombre de Dios, and cried out, in the hope of a reward from the crew, "In the name of God, my companions, I see the main land." It was in consequence of this that they afterwards called the city that was founded there NOMBRE DE DIOS, and the coast TIERRA FIRME. And they do not call any other part, although it may be so, Tierra Firme, except the coast near Nombre de Dios. Ten years afterwards they named that province CASTILLA DEL ORO, by reason of the great quantity of gold that was found there, and because of a castle that was built there by Diego de Nicuesa in 1510.

The island which has the name of Trinidad, and is in the Sweet Sea, was so called because it was discovered on the day of the most holy Trinity.

The city of Carthagena has its name from its convenient port, which, being very like that of Carthagena in Spain, received the name from those who first saw it, and exclaimed "this port is as good as that of Carthagena."

The island Serrana, on the track between Carthagena and the Havanna, is called after a Spaniard of that name. This Pedro Serrano was in a ship that was lost near the island. He alone escaped by swimming, being an excellent swimmer, and reached this island, which is desert, uninhabitable, and without wood or water. Here he lived for seven years, by dint of his industry, and skill in obtaining fuel for making a fire, and in procuring water. (This is a historical fact worthy of great admiration, as we will show presently.) From his name they call the island Serrana, and another that is close by Serranilla, to distinguish one from the other.

The city of San Domingo, whence the whole island takes its name, was founded in the way related by Gomara (chap. 35) in the following passage, which is quoted word for word:—"The most noble town is Santo Domingo, which Bartolomè Colon founded on the banks of the river Oçama. It received that name because he arrived there on a Sunday, the feast of San Domingo, and because his father was named Domingo. So that three causes united to induce him to give that name," etc.

Thus far Gomara. In a similar manner the names of all the other famous ports, great rivers, provinces, and kingdoms that have been discovered in the New World, were imposed. They received the names of Saints on whose day they were first seen, or those of a captain, soldier, pilot, or mariner who discovered them. We said something on this subject in the History of Florida, when we treated of the description of that land, and of those who went to it; and in the sixth book, after the sixteenth chapter, with reference to the same subject, these derivations of names are given, together with that of Peru, as I feared I might not live long enough to treat of them in this place. But God, in his mercy, has lengthened my life, so it seemed as well to remove them from there, and to put them in their place. What I now fear is that some historian may have robbed me, because that book, owing to my other occupations, passed through other hands; and, besides that, many have asked me if I knew the derivation of the name Peru, and, though I wished to keep it to myself, it was not possible for me to deny it to some of my lords.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DESCRIPTION OF PERU.

The four boundaries of the Empire of the Yncas, when the Spaniards entered it, were as follows—to the north it extended as far as the river Ancasmayu, which flows between the limits of Pastu and Quitu, and means in the general language of Peru, "the blue river".* It is almost exactly on the equinoctial line. To the south it was bounded by a river called Maule, which flows from east to west, past the kingdom of Chile, and before the country of the Araucanians is reached. This river is more than forty degrees south of the equator. Between these two rivers there is a distance of little less than 1300 leagues, by land.† The part they call Peru is 750 leagues in length, by land, from the river Ancasmayu to the Chichas, which is the last province of Charcas.‡ And that which they call the kingdom of Chile is near 550 leagues in length from north to south, counting from the end of the province of the Chichas to the river Maule.§

To the east the Empire is bounded by that never trodden by man nor animal nor bird, that inaccessible chain of snowy mountains which extends from Santa Martha to the straits of Magellan, which the Indians call Ritisuyu,‖ meaning the "line of snow". To the west the boundary is the South Sea, which extends along the whole length from end to end. The limit of the Empire, on the coast, begins at Cape

* *Ancas* or *Anccas*, blue; and *Mayu*, a river.

† This distance is a little over-estimated. It is about 740 leagues by the coast route, and 800 by the *sierra*.

‡ About 480 leagues in a straight line.

§ About 320 leagues.

‖ *Riti*, snow; and *Suyu*, a district or province.

Pasau near the equator, and extends to the same river Maule, which also falls into the South Sea. The whole of this kingdom is narrow, from east to west. In the broadest part, which is from the province of Muya-pampa,* by the Chachapoyas, to the city of Truxillo near the coast of the South Sea, it has a breadth of 120 leagues;† and in the narrowest, which is from the port of Arica to the province called Llaricosa,‡ it is seventy leagues broad.§ These are the four boundaries of the dominions of the Kings Yncas, whose history we purpose to write, with the Divine blessing.

It will be well, before we proceed further, to relate here the adventures of Pedro Serrano, which we have already alluded to; in order that this chapter may not be too short.

Pedro Serrano reached that desert island which had no name before, by swimming. It had, as he relates, a circumference of two leagues, and the sea cards show almost the same measurement. For they depict three very small islands surrounded by many rocks, and they give the same shape to Serrarilla, which forms five small islands, with many more reefs than Serrana; and this part is full of reefs, for which reason ships avoid it, that they may not fall into danger."‖

* Now corruptly called *Moyobamba.*

† The distance from Moyobamba to Truxillo, as the crow flies, is about 130 geographical miles only, but this is not the broadest part of Peru. The extreme breadth, from Pisco on the Pacific to the foot of the Cordilleras east of Cuzco, is over 300 geographical miles.

‡ Larecaja, a province to the eastward of the lofty chain of Andes, which contains the peaks of Illimani and Sorata. It is in the modern republic of Bolivia, and is famous for its yield of the species of Chinchona richest in quinine, the *C. Calisaya.*

§ This distance is about correct.

‖ The Serrana bank, which according to the Yuca was named after the shipwrecked mariner Pedro Serrano, and the neighbouring bank of Serranilla, are between Jamaica and the Mosquito coast. The Serrana is a very dangerous bank about seventeen miles long and, in the centre, about eight broad, but of very irregular outline. Its extreme east end

It was the fate of Pedro Serrano to be lost on these reefs, and to arrive at the island swimming, where he found himself in a most disconsolate condition, because there was no water, nor fuel, nor even grass, nor any other thing whatever, wherewith to maintain life until some ship should pass, that might take him off, before he died of hunger or thirst. This appeared to him to be a more cruel death than if he had been drowned, which would have been quicker. Thus the first night passed, the castaway mourning over his wretched fate, and that he should be placed in such an extremity. When dawn appeared, he began to examine the island, and found some shell fish, crabs, shrimps, and other insects, of which he collected as many as he could, and ate them raw, because he had no fire to cook them with. Thus he maintained himself until he saw some turtle come forth. As they were far from the sea, he attacked one, and turned it over, and he did the same to as many as he could, for when they are on their backs they become helpless. He then took out a knife, which he generally carried in his waistband, and beheaded one of them, drinking the blood instead of water. He did the same with the rest, and put the flesh in the sun to make jerked meat of it, clearing out the shells that he might catch rain-water in them, for it is well known that all that region is very rainy. In this way he kept himself alive for the first day, killing as many turtles as he could. Some of them were as large as the biggest shields, and some were even larger, like wheels, insomuch that they were of all sizes. He could not manage to turn the largest on their backs, because they were too

presents a solid half-moon reef, upon which the sea breaks with such terrific violence that it is sighted three or four miles off. At a distance of a quarter of a mile there is no bottom at one hundred and twenty fathoms. On the west side of this reef there are intricate channels which might be the means of saving a vessel in extreme danger. *Survey of Capt. E. Burnett, R. N.*, 1834; *Admiralty Plan of Serrana Cays*, No. 1478; *West India Pilot*, i, p. 294.

strong, and though he tried to subdue them by tiring them, yet it did not avail him, and they got away into the sea. Then experience taught him what turtles to attack, and which must submit to him. He collected plenty of water in their shells, for some of these shells would hold two *arrobas.** When Pedro Serrano had made a large store of food and drink, it appeared to him that if he could make fire, to cook his food, and to make smoke if he should see any ship passing, he would want nothing more. With this idea, (and certainly the men who have made voyages over the sea have a great advantage over all others in contriving things) he went in search of two pebbles to serve as flints from which he might strike fire with his knife. But he could not find any on the island, which was covered with sand, so he swam into the sea and dived, seeking with great diligence along the bottom, now in one part now in another, for what he wanted. His trouble was so well rewarded that he found some flints, took as many as he could, and selected the best, breaking one upon another, so as to make sharp corners to strike against the knife. He then tried his plan, and seeing that sparks came out, he made very small threads of a piece of his shirt, which looked like corded cotton. This served for tinder. Then, by reason of his industry and handiness, after much perseverance, he made a fire. To keep it up he collected, during many hours, the seaweed and wood from wrecked ships, and shells and bones of fish, and other things to feed the flame. That the rains might not put his fire out, he built a shelter of the largest turtle shells; and so he continued to feed the flames with great diligence. Before two months were out he appeared as he was when he was born; for the heavy rains, the sun, and the damp climate had rotted the few clothes he had. The sun, with its great heat, tried him very much; for he neither had clothes nor shade to protect him. When he was much fatigued, he went into

* 50 lbs.

the water, so as to cover himself with it. He lived three years enduring these hardships and trials, and during this time he saw several ships pass; but, though he made a cloud of smoke, which is a sign of shipwrecked people among mariners, they did not see him, or perhaps the crews would not come nearer for fear of the reefs, and so they sailed out of sight. At last Pedro Serrano became so disconsolate that he would have been glad to end his misery by death. Owing to the inclemency of the weather, his skin grew so thick that it looked like the hide of an animal, and not of any animal, but rather of a wild boar. His hair and beard reached to his girdle.

One afternoon, at the end of three years, when he was not thinking of it, Pedro Serrano saw a man on the island, who had been cast away on the reefs the night before, and had been saved on a piece of the wreck. When the dawn appeared he saw the smoke of Pedro Serrano's fire, and suspecting what it was, he reached it, thanks to a board and his own good swimming. When they saw each other, it would be difficult to say which was the most surprised. Serrano thought that it was the devil, coming in the shape of man, to tempt him to some desperate act. The guest felt sure that Serrano was the devil in his own proper form, seeing him covered with hair, beard, and thick skin. They fled from each other, and Serrano went off, crying "Jesu! Jesu! O Lord deliver me from the Devil". When the other heard this he was re-assured, and turning round he said—"Do not fly from me, O my brother, for I also am a Christian"; and, to prove it, for Serrano continued his flight, he repeated the *Credo* in a loud voice. When Pedro Serrano heard him, he turned round and they embraced each other with great tenderness, and many tears and groans, seeing that they were both in the same fix, without any hope of escape. Each one briefly recounted to the other the story of his life. Pedro Serrano, suspecting the wants

of his friend, gave him to eat and drink, after which he was somewhat consoled, and they began anew to recount their adventures. They arranged their mode of life in the best way they knew of, dividing the hours of the night and day into the necessary employments of seeking shell fish to eat, and sea-weed, timber, bones of fish, and whatever else the sea might throw up, to feed the fire. Above all they had to observe constant watchfulness to prevent the fire from going out. Thus they lived for some days, but not many had passed away before they quarrelled, so that they lived apart, the only cause being that one accused the other of want of care in his share of their labours (thus we see how great are the troubles that our passions bring upon us). Then they came to their senses, and sought pardon of each other and made friends, returning to live together again, which they did for four years. During this time they saw several ships pass by, and they raised a column of smoke, but it did not avail, and so they remained so disconsolate that there was nothing left them but to die.

At the end of this long time a ship came so close that those on board saw the smoke, and lowered a boat. When Pedro Serrano and his companion saw the boat coming, they feared that the crew might think they were devils, being quite naked; so they began to say the *Credo*, and to call loudly on the name of our Lord. This was lucky, for otherwise the mariners would certainly have fled from figures which were not those of human beings. They were taken on board the ship, where they caused wonder to every one who saw them and heard their adventures. The companion died at sea, on the voyage to Spain. Pedro Serrano arrived there safely, and went on to Germany, where the Emperor then was. In every village (if he chose to show himself) he made much money. Some lords and principal knights, who liked to see his figure, paid the cost of his journey, and his Imperial Majesty, having seen

and heard him, was pleased to grant him a rent of 4000 *pesos*, which are 480 *ducados* in Peru. On his way out to enjoy it, he died at Panama. All this story, as I have given it, was related by a knight named Garcia Sanchez de Figueroa,* who knew Pedro Serrano, and I heard it from him. That knight had heard the tale from Serrano himself, who, after he had seen the Emperor, cut his hair and beard, keeping it somewhat shorter than that it should reach his waist; and to enable him to sleep at night, he plaited it; for if it was not plaited, it spread all over the bed, and disturbed his slumbers.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE IDOLATRY OF THE INDIANS AND OF THE GODS THEY WORSHIPPED BEFORE THE TIME OF THE YNCAS.

For the better understanding of the idolatry, mode of life, and customs of the Indians of Peru it will be necessary for us to divide those times into two epochs. We shall narrate how they lived before the time of the Yncas, and afterwards we shall give an account of the government of those kingdoms by the Yncas, that the one may not be confounded with the other, and that neither the customs nor the gods of the period before the Yncas may be attributed

* Garcia Sanchez de Figueroa was an old soldier of the conquest, and a first cousin of Garcilasso de la Vega, the Ynca's father. He was settled in Cuzco during the boyhood of our author, and fled from the city in company with his cousin, on the night of Giron's rebellion, on November 13th, 1553. After the Ynca's departure for Spain in 1560, Garcia Sanchez de Figueroa appears to have corresponded with him, and a few years afterwards he announced to his young cousin that the Spanish hens, which had never laid eggs in Cuzco before, but had always been brought from the valley of Yucay, were having chickens in great abundance.

to the Ynca period. It must be understood, then, that in the first epoch some of the Indians were little better than tame beasts, and others much worse than wild beasts. To begin with their gods, we must relate that they were in unison with the other signs of their folly and dulness, both as regards their number and the vileness of the things they adored. For each province, each nation, each house had its gods, different one from another; for they thought that a stranger's god, occupied with some one else, could not attend to them, but only their own. Thus it was that they came to have such a variety of gods, and so many that they could not be counted. And as they did not understand, like the gentile Romans, how to make ideal gods, as Hope, Victory, Peace, and such like, because they did not raise their thoughts to invisible things, they adored what they saw. The one desired to have a god different from the other, without thinking whether the objects of adoration were worthy or not, and without self-respect in considering whether the things they adored were not inferior to themselves. They only thought of making one differ from another, and each from all. Thus they worshipped herbs, plants, flowers, all kinds of trees, high hills, great rocks, and the chinks in them, hollow caves, pebbles, and small stones of different colours found in rivers and brooks, such as jasper. They adored the emerald,* particularly in a province which is now called Puerto Viejo; but they did not worship rubies and diamonds, because there are none in that country. In place of them they worshipped different animals, some for their fierceness, such as the tiger, lion, and bear; and as they looked upon them as gods, they did not fly from them, if they crossed their path, but went down on the ground to worship them, and these Indians allowed themselves to be killed and eaten, without attempting flight, or making any

* See my translation of Cieza de Leon, chap. 1, p. 182. Acosta, lib. iv, cap. 14, p. 233; and Velasco, *Historia del Quito*, i, p. 29.

defence. They also adored other animals for their cunning, such as foxes and monkeys. They worshipped the dog for his faithfulness and noble character, the cat for its agility, the bird which they call *cuntur* for its size, and some nations adored the eagle because they thought they were descended from it, as well as the *cuntur*. Other nations worshipped falcons for their swiftness, and for their industry in procuring food. They worshipped the owl for the beauty of his eyes and head, and the bat for his quickness of sight, which caused much wonder that he could see at night. They also adored many other birds according to their caprices. They venerated the great serpents, that are met with in the Antis,* twenty-five to thirty feet in length, more or less, and thicker than a man's thigh, for their monstrous size and fierceness. They also looked upon other smaller snakes as gods, in places where they are not so large as in the Antis, as well as lizards, toads, and frogs. In fine, there was not an animal, how vile and filthy soever, that they did not look upon as a god; merely differing one from the other in their gods, without adoring any real God, nor being able to hope for anything from them. They were indeed most foolish in all these things, like sheep without a shepherd. But we should not wonder that a people without letters or any instruction should fall into these follies; for it is notorious that the Greeks and Romans, who prided themselves so much on their science, had, when their empire was most flourishing, 30,000 gods.

* *Anti-suyu*, the eastern division of the empire of the Yncas, was so called from the *Antis*, who dwelt in the forests at the foot of the Cordillera, to the eastward of Cuzco.

CHAPTER X.

OF MANY OTHER GODS THAT THEY HAD.

There were many other nations of Indians, in that first epoch, who chose their gods with somewhat more judgment than those we have mentioned; for they worshipped certain things from which they derived benefit, such as great fountains and rivers, which supplied water for irrigating their crops.

Some worshipped the earth, and called it Mother, because it yielded their fruits; others adored the air for its gift of breath to them, saying that it gave them life; others the fire for its heat, and because they cooked their food with it; others worshipped a sheep, because of the great flocks they reared;* others the great chain of snowy mountains for its height and grandeur, and for the many rivers which flow from it, and furnish irrigation; others adored maize or *sara*, as they call it, because it was their bread; others worshipped other kinds of corn and pulse, according to the abundance of the yield in each province.

The inhabitants of the sea-coast, besides an infinity of other gods, worshipped the sea, which they called *Mama-ccocha*, or "Mother Sea", meaning that it filled the office of a mother, by supplying them with fish. They also worshipped the whale for its monstrous greatness. Besides this ordinary system of worship, which prevailed throughout the coast, the people of different provinces adored the fish that they caught in greatest abundance; for they said that the first fish that was made in the world above (for so they named Heaven) gave birth to all other fish of that species, and took care to send them plenty of its children to sustain their

* These were the Collas in Southern Peru. See Book ii, chap. 19.

tribe. For this reason they worshipped sardines in one region, where they killed more of them than of any other fish; in others, the skate; in others, the dog fish; in others, the golden fish for its beauty; in others, the craw fish; in others, for want of larger gods, the crabs, where they had no other fish or where they knew not how to catch and kill them. In short, they had whatever fish was most serviceable to them as their gods. 'So that they not only had the four elements as gods, but also everything that is formed or composed of them, howsoever vile and shapeless it might be. There were other people, such as the Chirihuanas, and the natives of the Cape de Pasau (these two provinces being at the northern and southern extremities of Peru) that had no inclination to worship anything high or low, neither from interested motives nor from fear, but who lived in every respect, and now live like beasts or worse; for the doctrine and instruction of the Kings Yncas never reached them.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE MANNER OF THEIR SACRIFICES.

In conformity with the vileness and degraded character of the gods, were the cruelty and barbarity of the sacrifices of that ancient idolatry. For, besides ordinary things such as animals and maize, they sacrificed men and women of all ages, being captives taken in wars which they made against each other. In some provinces their cruelty was so great that it exceeded that of wild beasts. Not content with sacrificing their captive enemies, they offered up their own children on certain occasions. The manner of this sacrifice of men, women, and children was that they opened their breasts while they were yet alive, and took out the heart and lungs. They then anointed the idol with the warm

blood, thinking that the idol had ordered the sacrifice to be made. Presently they watched the omens in the same heart and lungs, to see if the sacrifice had been accepted or not; and, whether or not, they burnt the offering of heart and lungs before the idol, until it was consumed, and ate the sacrificed Indian with great relish and delight, and not less rejoicing, even though it might be their own child.

The Father Blas Valera, as appears in many parts of his torn papers, had the same design as ourselves in many of the things that he wrote; such as to divide the periods, epochs, and provinces, so as to make more clear the customs which each nation had. Thus in one of his mutilated papers he says as follows:—"Those who live in the Antis eat human flesh, they are fiercer than tigers, and have no God, nor any law, nor do they know what virtue is. They have no idols, nor any likeness of them, but worship the devil when he presents himself in the form of any beast or serpent, and speaks to them. If they make a captive in war, or by any other chance, knowing that he is one of low condition, they cut him up and give him to their friends and servants, for them to eat or sell in the meat market. But if he is a nobleman, the chiefs assemble together with their wives and daughters, and, like ministers of the devil, they strip him and tie him alive to a post. Then they cut him into slices with stone knives, not dismembering him, but cutting the flesh off the parts where there is most of it, such as the calves, thighs, buttocks, and fleshy parts of the arms. They sprinkle the women and children with the blood, and eat the flesh very hastily, without waiting to cook or even to chew it. They take the flesh bit by bit, so that the poor patient sees himself, while yet alive, eaten by others, and buried in their bellies. The women (more cruel than the men) anoint the teats of their bosoms with the unfortunate victim's blood, that their infants may suck it in, and drink it with the milk. They do all this, in place of sacrificing,

with great rejoicing, until the man dies. Then they desist from eating his flesh by way of a feast or pleasure, as before, but as a thing dedicated to God, and from that time they look on the flesh with the greatest veneration, and eat it as a sacred thing. If the victim, while he was being tortured, gave any sign of feeling in his face or in his body, or made any groan or sigh, they broke his bones to pieces, after having eaten his flesh and tripes, and cast them into the fields or rivers, with every mark of contempt. But if, during the torture, the victim was firm, composed, and fierce, after having eaten the flesh, with all the inside, they dried the bones and nerves in the sun, and, placing them in a lofty part of the mountains, worshipped them as gods, and offered them sacrifices. These are the idols of those wild people; for the government of the Yncas did not reach them, nor, up to the present time, has that of the Spaniards, and this is the condition in which they remain to this day. This race of terrible and cruel men came from the Mexican country, and peopled that of Panama and Darien, and all those great forests which extend on one side to the new kingdom of Granada, and on the other to Santa Martha."* All this is quoted from Father Blas Valera, who recounts the devilries of these people, and assists us to give an idea of the customs of that first age.

There were the other Indians who were not so cruel in their sacrifices; for, though they mixed human blood in them, it was not obtained by killing any one, but by bleeding the arms and legs, according to the importance of the sacrifice. For the most solemn sacrifices they bled the root of the nose where it is joined by the eyebrows. This bleed-

* The Antis were a savage tribe in the forests to the eastward of Cuzco; but Blas Valera probably intends to include in the country of the Antis all the vast forest-covered region to the eastward of the Andes. The practices described in the text were not those of the Peruvian Indians, but of the fierce Aztecs, and of wild tribes in New Granada.

ing was common amongst the Indians of Peru, even in the time of the Yncas, as well for sacrifices (particularly one, as we shall presently explain) as for their illnesses, when they had very bad headaches. The Indians had other sacrifices in common (those which we have described above being in use in particular provinces and not in others), such were the sacrifices of animals, as sheep, lambs, rabbits, partridges, and other birds, grease, the herb they so value called *cuca*, maize, and other seeds, pulses, sweet-woods, and the like, according to the produce of each people, and their ideas touching what would be a pleasing sacrifice to their gods. If their gods were birds or beasts of prey they offered up what they usually saw them eat, and what appeared to be most agreeable to their tastes; and this suffices for an account of the sacrifices of that ancient heathenism.

CHAPTER XII.

CONCERNING THE MODE OF LIFE AND GOVERNMENT OF THE ANCIENT PEOPLE, AND OF THE THINGS THEY ATE.

These gentiles were as barbarous in the manner of building their houses and villages, as in their gods and sacrifices. The most civilised had their villages without *plazas** or order in their streets and houses, but rather with the appearance of a lair of wild beasts. Others, by reason of the wars that they waged against each other, lived on the tops of high rocks, in the manner of fortresses, where they were less molested by their enemies. Others lived in huts scattered over the fields, valleys, and ravines, each one where its owners could best secure their food. Others lived in caves under the ground, in crevices of the rocks, or in hollow trees, each one

* Every village in Spanish South America has a *plaza* or open square in the centre, whence the streets diverge at right angles.

finding his house ready-built, as he was not capable of building one. Some such people are still to be met with near the Cape of Pasau, and in the country of the Chirihuanas, and other nations which were not conquered by the Kings Yncas, and are still in the ancient condition of barbarism. These are the people who are most difficult to convert to the service of the Spaniards, and to the Christian religion; for as they never had any religion, they are irrational, and scarcely have any words to make themselves intelligible to each other. So they live like animals of different species, without joining or communicating with each other.

In these houses and villages he who had most audacity governed the others, and as soon as he became their lord he treated his vassals with tyranny and cruelty, using them as slaves, taking their wives and daughters at will, and making them fight one with another. In some provinces they flayed their captives, and covered their drums with the skins, to terrify their enemies; for they said that when they heard the skins of their relations, they would presently fly. They led a life of robberies, murders, and burning of villages, and thus many chiefs and petty kings arose, among whom there were some good men who treated their people well and maintained peace and justice. The Indians, in their simplicity, revered these good chiefs as gods, seeing that they were different from the great multitude of tyrants. In other parts the people lived without chiefs to rule over them, nor did they know how to form any government amongst themselves to regulate and order their lives, but they lived like sheep, in great simplicity, without doing either good or evil, and this was due more to ignorance and absence of malice, than to excess of virtue.

The Indians in many provinces were so sluggish and simple in the manner of dressing and covering their bodies, that their clothing would make a man laugh to see it. In their eating they were so fierce and barbarous as to astound

any man, and in many wide regions these two habits went together. In the hot climates, on account of their natural fertility, they sowed little or nothing; they maintained themselves on herbs, roots, and wild fruits, and other food which the earth yielded spontaneously, or with small aid from the inhabitants; and as the people desired no more than the maintenance of their natural lives, they were satisfied with little. In many provinces they were very fond of human flesh, and so greedy that, before the Indian they were killing was quite dead, they drank his blood out of the wound they had dealt him, and did the same when he was cut up, sucking their hands so that they might not lose a drop.

Pedro de Cieza (chap. 27)* says the same, and that he saw it with his own eyes. This passion so increased upon them, that they would not spare their own offspring by a captive woman taken in war. They took these women, when they were virgins, and brought up the children they had by them, with much care, until they were twelve or thirteen years of age, when they ate them, as well as their mother, so soon as she was past child-bearing. They even went further; for they spared the lives of many Indians whom they took prisoners and gave them wives from the nation of their conquerors; and the children they begot were brought up until they were old enough to be eaten. Thus they had a sort of college of youths reared for eating, and they would not spare them, either on the ground of relationship, or because they had reared them,† which is a source of love even amongst animals of different habits, as we are able to testify

* This is a wrong reference, but there is plenty about the cannibalism of the Indians of New Granada in Cieza de Leon. See my translation, chap. xii, p. 50 and 52, chap. xv, p. 60, chap. xix, p. 71, chap. xxi, p. 79, chap. xxiii, p. 84, chap. xxvi, p. 96 and 97, chap. xxviii, p. 101, chap. xxxii, p. 115 and p. 118.

† These were customs of Indians in the valley of the Cauca, in New Granada, as described by Cieza de Leon, and not those of Indians in any part of Peru.

touching some that we have seen, and others of which we have heard. But, with these barbarians, neither the one motive nor the other was sufficient; for they killed the sons they had begotten and the relations they had reared, for the purpose of eating them, doing the same by the parents as soon as they were past the time of bearing children, without regard to their near relationship. There was one nation so strangely addicted to this greediness in eating human flesh, that they buried their dead in their bellies. As soon as a relation died, these people assembled and ate him roasted or boiled according as he was thin or fat.* If he was thin they boiled him, if fat he was roasted. Afterwards they collected his bones, and performed his obsequies with great mourning, interring them in a hole of the rocks or in a hollow tree. They had no God, nor did they know what it was to worship anything, and they are still in the same condition. This habit of eating human flesh prevailed more amongst the Indians of the warm than of the cold climates.

In the cold and sterile regions where the land did not spontaneously yield fruits and herbs, they sowed maize and other crops, being urged by necessity. But they did so without observing either time or season. They followed the chase and caught fish in the same rude fashion as they showed in all other matters.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOW THEY DRESSED IN THOSE ANCIENT TIMES.

Their dress, owing to its indecency, is more a subject for keeping silence upon and for concealing than for talking of

* This was the tribe of *Cucamas*, on the Marañon and Huallaga rivers. See *M. Rodriguez*, *Velasco*, *Poeppig*, ii, p. 449, *Herndon*, p. 195, *Bates*, ii, p. 159, *Raimondy*, p. 113.

and describing. But as the truth of history obliges me to tell everything correctly, I must beseech modest ears to close themselves, that they may not hear me in this part; and should they punish me with this disfavour, I shall hold them to be well employed. In this first epoch the Indians dressed like animals, for they wore no more clothing than the skin which nature had given them. Many of them, either for love of adorning themselves or out of peculiarity, had a thick string girded round their bodies, which served them as clothing, but we must say no more on this head, as it is not proper. In the year 1560, on my way to Spain, I encountered five Indians in a street of Carthagena, without any clothes, and they did not walk abreast, but one behind the other, like cranes, it having been so many years since they had had intercourse with Spaniards.

The women went about in the same dress, that is, naked. Those who were married had a thread girded round the body, to which was fastened a sort of apron consisting of a rag of cotton a yard square. In places where they could not or would not weave, they used bark of trees or leaves, which served as a covering for the sake of decency. Virgins also wore a girdle of thread, and in place of an apron they wore a different sort of thing as a sign that they were virgins. But as it is proper to preserve that respect which is due to the reader, it will be well to keep silence as to what it was. Suffice it to say, that such was the dress in the hot regions, that, as regards decency, the people were like unreasoning beasts; and, by this folly alone, as regards the adorning of their persons, it may be understood how brutal they must have been in all other things—these Indians of heathendom, who lived before the time of the empire of the Yncas.

In the cold countries the people went about more honestly clad, not for the sake of decency, but owing to the necessity caused by the cold. They covered themselves with the skins of animals, and with a sort of cloak that they made

from the aloe, and from a long and soft straw which grows in the fields. With these contrivances they covered their bodies as well as they could. In other nations there was more propriety, and they wore mantles, badly made, badly twisted, and worse woven, of wool or of wild aloe, called by them *chahuar*.* They wore these cloaks fastened round the neck and waist, so that they went sufficiently covered. These clothes were used in that first epoch, and the custom prevailing in the warm countries of going naked was one which the Spaniards found in many provinces not yet conquered by the Kings Yncas. It still prevails in many lands subjugated by the Spaniards, where the Indians are so stupid as to be unwilling to dress, excepting those who have close intercourse with the Spaniards in their houses, and they dress more from persuasion than from choice, and proper modesty. This applies to women as well as men; for the former, when scolded for being bad spinsters and very indecent, and asked by the Spaniards why they do not dress, reply that they do not want to spin, or if asked why they do not spin, they say they do not want to dress.

CHAPTER XIV.

DIFFERENT MODES OF MARRIAGE, AND DIVERS LANGUAGES. HOW THEY USED POISONS AND PRACTISED SORCERY.

In their other customs, such as those relating to marriage, the Indians of that heathen time were no better than in their habits of eating and clothing themselves. For, in many nations, they cohabited like beasts, without any special wife, but just as chance directed. Others followed their own desires, without excepting sisters, daughters, or mothers. Others

* *Chahuar* is the fibre of the agave or American aloe.

excepted their mothers, but none else. In other provinces it was lawful, and even praiseworthy, for the girls to be as immodest and abandoned as they pleased, and the most dissolute were more certain of marriage than those who were faithful. At all events the abandoned sorts of girls were held to be more lusty, while of the modest it was said that they had had no desire for any one because they were torpid. In other provinces they had an opposite custom, for the mothers guarded their daughters with great care; and when they were sought in marriage, they were brought out in public, and, in presence of the relations who had made the contract, the mothers deflowered them with their own hands, to show to all present the proof of the care that had been taken of them.

In other provinces the nearest relations of the bride and her most intimate friends had connection with her, and on this condition the marriage was agreed to, and she was thus received by the husband. Pedro de Cieza (chap. xxiv) says the same.* There were sodomites in some provinces, though not openly nor universally, but some particular men and in secret. In some parts they had them in their temples, because the devil persuaded them that their gods took great delight in such people: and thus the devil acted as the traitor to remove the veil of shame that the gentiles felt for this crime, and to accustom them to commit it in public and in common.† There were also men and women who gave poison, both to kill by slow degrees or suddenly, and to destroy reason and cause idiotcy. They could also make the face ugly, bring out black and white spots on the body, and maim the limbs.

Each province, each tribe, and in many places each vil-

* The account of Cieza de Leon does not refer to Indians of Peru, but to those of New Granada.

† This is also from Cieza de Leon, and does not refer to the natives of Peru.

lage, had its own language, different from that of its neighbours. Those who understood their language were looked upon as relations, and were therefore friends and allies. Those who did not understand them, owing to the difference in the languages, they held as enemies, and made cruel war upon, insomuch that they ate each other, as if they were brutes of different species. They also had sorcerers and witches among them, but this profession was more commonly practised by women than men. Many only exercised their art, to be able to talk to the devil, so as to gain a reputation with the people, giving replies to things that were asked, and making themselves great priests and priestesses.

Other women used the art of bewitching people, oftener women than men, from envy or some other evil motive, and they produced the same results by witchcraft as by poison. And this suffices for my account of the Indians of that first epoch, and of their ancient heathenism, leaving that which I have not described as fully as it really required to the imagination of each person to add; for howsoever he may enlarge on what has been said, he will not be able to imagine how great was the barbarism of those gentiles. In fine, they were a people who had no other guide nor master than the devil, and of such a nature were their lives, customs, gods, and most savage sacrifices, without any exaggeration. Others were very simple in everything, like tame animals. Others partook either of one extreme or the other, as we shall see further on in the course of our history, where I shall relate what barbarous rites they practised in each province.

CHAPTER XV.

THE ORIGIN OF THE YNCAS KINGS OF PERU.

It pleased our Lord God that, while these people were living and dying in the way we have described, the glimmerings of dawn should appear amongst themselves, which, in the midst of that pitch darkness, might give some indications of the natural law, of civilisation, and of the respect which men ought to have for each other Afterwards, some further progress was made, and these wild creatures were converted into men, and made capable of reason and of comprehending any good doctrine. Thus, when the same God, who is the Sun of Justice, saw fit to extend the light of his divine rays to these idolaters, they were found not to be such savages, but more ready to receive the Catholic faith, and the teaching and doctrine of our holy church, than those who had not had such early advantages; as will be seen in the course of this history. For it has been clearly shown by experience how much more prompt and ready the Indians who had been conquered, governed, and instructed by the Kings Yncas were to receive the gospel than the other neighbouring people, to whom the teaching of the Yncas had not yet extended. Many of the latter are even now as barbarous and brutal as they ever were, after the Spaniards have been seventy-one years in Peru. And now that we are at the entrance of this great labyrinth, it will be well for us to pass onwards, and relate what there is in it.

After having sketched out many plans, and taken many roads for entering upon a narrative of the origin of the Yncas, the former native kings of Peru, it seemed to me that the best and clearest way would be to relate what I have often heard, in my childhood, from my mother, and from her

brothers, uncles, and other relations, touching this origin and beginning. For all that is said on the subject from other sources may be reduced to the same as we shall relate, and it is better that it should be made known in the actual words in which the Yncas have told it, than in those of strange authors. My mother resided in Cuzco, her native town, and almost every week some of the few male and female relations, who escaped the cruelty and tyranny of Atahualpa (as we shall relate in the account of his life), came to visit her. On the occasion of these visits their usual conversation was on the subject of the origin of the Yncas, of their majesty, of the grandeur of their empire, of their greatness, of their mode of government in peace and war, and of the laws which they ordained for the good of their subjects. In short, they omitted nothing relating to the flourishing period of their history in the course of these conversations.

From their past greatness and prosperity, they went on to the present state of affairs; they mourned for their dead kings, their lost rule, their fallen state. Such and the like discourses were held by the Yncas and Pallas when they visited my mother, and, at the memory of their lost happiness, they always concluded their conversations with tears and mourning, saying "We are turned from rulers into vassals." During these conversations I, as a boy, came in and out of the place where they were assembled many times, and was entertained at hearing them, just as lads always like to hear stories told. So days, months, and years passed away, until I was sixteen or seventeen years old. At that time it happened that, one day when my relations were engaged in these discourses, talking of their royal ancestors, I said to the most aged of them, who usually related the stories of his family—"Ynca my uncle, you have no writings which preserve the memory of past events; but what accounts have you of the origin of our kings? For the Spaniards,

and other people who live on their borders, have divine and human histories, and they know through them when their kings began to reign, when one empire gave place to another, and even how many thousand years it is since God created heaven and earth. But you, who have no books, what memory have you preserved respecting your ancestors? Who was the first of our Yncas? What was his name? What was his origin? In what manner did he begin to reign? With what people and arms did he conquer this great empire? What beginning had our history?"

The Ynca, as soon as he had heard my questions, was delighted to have the opportunity of replying to them; and I, though I had heard his stories many times before, never listened with so much attention as on that occasion. He turned to me and said, "Nephew, I will tell you what you ask with great pleasure, and you should preserve what I have to say in your heart" (which is their phrase, instead of saying in the memory). "Know then that, in ancient times, all this region which you see was covered with forests and thickets, and the people lived like wild beasts without religion, nor government, nor town, nor houses, without cultivating the land, nor clothing their bodies, for they knew not how to weave cotton nor wool to make clothes. They lived two or three together in caves or clefts of the rocks, or in caverns under ground. They ate the herbs of the field and roots or fruit like wild animals, and also human flesh. They covered their bodies with leaves and the bark of trees, or with the skins of animals. In fine they lived like deer or other game, and even in their intercourse with women they were like brutes; for they knew nothing of living with separate wives."

It will be well, in order to avoid tiresome repetition, to say here that the phrase "Our Father the Sun", was a mode of expressing veneration and respect in the language of the Yncas. They always named the Sun, because they were

proud of being descended from him, and it was not lawful for any man who was not of Ynca blood to have the word in his mouth; for it was looked upon as blasphemy, and the blasphemer was stoned.

"Our Father the Sun", said my uncle the Ynca, "seeing the human race in the condition I have described, had compassion upon them, and sent down from heaven to the earth a son and daughter to instruct them in the knowledge of our Father the Sun, that they might adore Him, and adopt Him as their God; also to give them precepts and laws by which to live as reasonable and civilised men, and to teach them to live in houses and towns, to cultivate maize and other crops, to breed flocks, and to use the fruits of the earth like rational beings, instead of living like beasts. 'With these commands and intentions, our Father the Sun placed his two children in the lake of Titicaca, which is eighty leagues from here; and He said to them that they might go where they pleased, and that at every place where they stopped to eat or sleep, they were to thrust a sceptre of gold into the ground, which was half a yard long, and two fingers in thickness. He gave them this staff as a sign and token that in the place where, by one blow on the earth, it should sink down and disappear, there it was the desire of our Father the Sun that they should remain and establish their court. Finally, He said to them:—'When you have reduced these people to our service, you shall maintain them in habits of reason and justice, by the practice of piety, clemency, and meekness, assuming in all things the office of a pious father towards his beloved and tender children. Thus you will form a likeness and reflection of me. I do good to the whole world, giving light that men may see and do their business, making them warm when they are cold, cherishing their pastures and crops, ripening their fruits and increasing their flocks, watering their lands with dew, and bringing fine weather in the proper season. I take care to go round

the earth each day, that I may see the necessities that exist in the world, and supply them, as the sustainer and benefactor of the heathens. I desire that you shall imitate this example as my children, sent to the earth solely for the instruction and benefit of these men who live like beasts. And from this time I constitute and name you as kings and lords over all the tribes, that you may instruct them in your rational works and government.' Having declared His will to His children, our Father the Sun dismissed them. These children set out from Titicaca, and travelled northwards, trying at every place where they stopped on the road whether their sceptre of gold would sink into the earth, but it never did. At last they came to an inn or small resting-place, which is seven or eight leagues south of this city, and is called *Paccari-Tampu*"* (that is to say, *the resting-place of the dawn*). The Ynca gave it this name because he set out from it in the early morning. It is one of the towns which this prince afterwards ordered to be founded; and the inhabitants are very proud of the name to this day, because it was given by the Ynca. From this place he and his wife, our queen, advanced to the valley of Cuzco, which at that time was entirely covered with wild forests."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FOUNDATION OF CUZCO, THE IMPERIAL CITY.

"The first settlement that was made in this valley," continued my uncle the Ynca, "was on the hill called Huanacauti, to the south of this city. It was here that the sceptre of gold buried itself in the ground with great ease, and it was never seen more. Then our Ynca said to his wife and

* *Paccari*, morning; and *tampu* (corrupted by the Spaniards into *tambo*), an inn.

sister:—'Our Father the Sun orders that we settle in this valley to fulfil his wishes. It is therefore right, O queen and sister, that each of us should gather these people together, to instruct them and to do the good which has been ordered by our Father the Sun.' Our first rulers set out from the hill of Huanacauti, in different directions, to call the people together, and as this is the first place we know of which they pressed with their feet, we have built a temple there, as is notorious, wherein to worship our Father the Sun, in memory of this act of benevolence which He performed for the world. The prince went northwards, and the princess to the south, speaking to all the people they met in the wilderness, and telling them how their Father the Sun had sent them from Heaven, to be the rulers and benefactors of the inhabitants of all that land, delivering them from their wild lives, and teaching them how to live like men; and how, in pursuance of the commands of their Father the Sun, they had come to bring the people out of the forests and deserts, to live in villages, and to eat the food of men, and not of wild beasts. Our kings said these and similar things to the savages they met with in the forests and mountains. The people, seeing these two personages attired and adorned with the ornaments that our Father the Sun had given them (a very different dress from their own), with their ears bored and opened, in the way that we their descendants wear ours; and that, from their words and appearance, they seemed to be children of the Sun; and that they came among them to give them villages to live in and food to eat; astonished on the one hand at what they saw, and pleased on the other at the promises that were held out; fully believed everything, worshipped the strangers as children of the Sun; and obeyed them as their kings. The same savages, having collected together and related the wonders they had seen and heard, assembled in great numbers, both men and women, and set out to follow our kings, whithersoever they might lead them.

"When our princes saw the large multitude of people that had arrived, they ordered that some should occupy themselves in procuring supplies for the rest, that hunger might not force them to scatter themselves over the mountains again, while the rest worked at building houses according to a plan made by the Ynca. In this manner he began to settle this our imperial city, dividing it into two parts, called *Hanan Cuzco*, which, as you know, means Upper Cuzco, and *Hurin Cuzco*, which is Lower Cuzco. The people who followed the king wished to settle in Hanan Cuzco, and for that reason it received the name; and those who were gathered together by the queen settled in Hurin Cuzco, and it was therefore called the lower town. This division of the city was not made in order that those living in one half should have any pre-eminence or special privileges, for the Ynca desired that all should be equal like brothers—the sons of one father and one mother. He only wished to make this division into an upper and a lower town, that there might be a perpetual memory of the fact that the inhabitants of one were assembled by the king, and of the other by the queen. He ordered that there should be only one difference between them as a mark of superiority, which was, that the people of Upper Cuzco should be looked upon and respected as elder brothers, and those of Lower Cuzco as younger brothers; that they should be, in short, as a right and left arm, on any occasion of precedence, the one as having been brought there by a man, and the other by a woman. In imitation of this division, a similar arrangement was made in all the towns, large or small, of our empire, which were separated into wards according to the lineages of the families, which were called *Hanan-Ayllu* and *Hurin Ayllu*, that is, the upper and lower lineage; or *Hanan-Suyu* and *Hurin-Suyu*, or the upper and lower provinces.*

* *Hanan* or *Hanac*, high, upper. *Hurin*, lower. *Ayllu*, a family, lineage, or tribe. *Suyu*, a province.

"At the same time that the city was being peopled, our Ynca taught the Indians those occupations which appertain to a man, such as breaking up and cultivating the ground, and sowing corn and other seeds, which he pointed out as fit for food and useful. He also taught them to make ploughs and other necessary instruments, he showed them the way to lead channels from the brooks which flow through this valley of Cuzco; and even instructed them how to prepare the sandals which we now wear. On the other hand, the Queen employed the Indian women in such work as is suitable to them, such as to sew and weave cotton and wool, to make clothes for themselves, their husbands, and children, and to perform other household duties. In fine, our princes taught their first vassals everything that is needful in life, the Ynca making himself king and master of the men, and the Ccoya being queen and mistress of the women.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE COUNTRY WHICH WAS BROUGHT UNDER THE RULE OF THE YNCA MANCO CCAPAC.

"Those very Indians, who had thus been brought under the rule of the Ynca, recognising the benefits they had received with great satisfaction, entered into the mountains and wildernesses in search of their countrymen, and spread the news of those children of the Sun. They explained that the Ynca had come down to the earth for the good of all men, and they recounted the many benefits he had conferred. They then displayed their clothes, and showed their new kinds of food, and that they now lived in houses and villages, that their words might be believed. When the wild people heard all this, they assembled in great numbers to behold the wonderful things that our first parents,

king and lords, had performed. Having satisfied themselves by their eyes, they remained, to serve and obey the Ynca. In this way one party brought another, until, in a few years, so great a multitude was assembled that, after the first six or seven years, the Ynca had a body of armed and disciplined men to defend him against any invader, and even to subject by force all who were not willing to submit of their own accord. He taught them to make offensive arms, such as bows and arrows, lances, clubs, and others, which are still used.

"But in order to state briefly the deeds of our first Ynca, I must tell you that, towards the east, he subdued the country as far as the river Paucar-tampu.* To the westward he conquered the country for a distance of eight leagues, up to the river Apurimac,† and to the south his dominion extended for nine leagues, to Quequesana. Within this region our Ynca ordered more than a hundred villages to be built, the largest with a hundred houses, and others with less, according to the situation. These were the first princes that this our city had, they having founded and peopled it, as you have now heard. These were the first rulers who held this our great, rich, and famous empire, which thy father and his companions have taken from us. These were our first Yncas and kings, who appeared in the first ages of the world, from whom descended the other kings who have ruled over us, and from these again we are all descended. I am unable to tell you exactly how many years it is since our Father the Sun sent these his first children, for it is so long since that we have been unable to preserve the remembrance of it, but it is more than four hundred years. Our

* *Paucar*, beautifully coloured, a flowery meadow; any graceful or beautiful thing. In Ecuador *Paucar* is the troupial, and *Paucar-huasi*, a troupial's nest. *Tampu*, an inn or resting-place.

† *Apu*, chief, and *Rimac*, an oracle, the participle of *Rimani*, I speak.

Ynca was called Manco Ccapac,* and our Ccoya was Mama Occllo Huaco.† They were, as I have told you, brother and sister, children of the Sun and of the Moon, our parents. I believe that I have now given you a full account of what you asked, and that I have replied to your inquiries; and that I may not make you weep, I have not related the story with tears of blood torn from the eyes, as they are torn from my heart by the grief which fills it, at seeing that our line of Yncas is ended, and our empire lost."

This long account of the origin of their kings was given me by that Ynca, uncle of my mother, from whom I had inquired respecting it. I have had it faithfully translated from the language of my mother, which is that of the Yncas, into Castilian, though I have been unable to imitate the majestic sentences in which the Ynca spoke, nor to give it with all the point of the original, for it would have caused it to be much longer than I have presented it here. I have somewhat shortened it, leaving out a few things, but it is sufficient that I have given its true meaning, which is all that is required for our history. This Ynca told me a few other stories during the visits which he paid to the house of my mother, and I shall relate them further on, in their proper places. I regret that I did not ask many more questions, that I might now have a knowledge of them, obtained from so excellent a chronicler, to be written here.

* *Manco*, a word with no special meaning in Quichua. *Ccapac*, rich, powerful.

† *Mama*, mother. *Occllo*, from *Ocllani*, to hatch, to embrace when naked, to warm in the bosom. *Huaco* is a sparrow-hawk, *Huacco*, a wisdom tooth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF FABULOUS ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE YNCAS.

The Indians living to the south and west of Cuzco, in the provinces called *Colla-suyu* and *Cunti-suyu*, give another account of the origin of the Yncas. They say that this event happened after the deluge (concerning which they can give no particulars, not even knowing whether it was the general deluge of the time of Noah or some other special flood, so we shall not relate what they say concerning it, and concerning other things; for the way they have of telling these stories makes them appear more like dreams or badly invented fables than historical narratives). Their account is that, after the flood subsided, a man appeared in Tiahuacanu,* to the southward of Cuzco, who was so powerful that he divided the world into four parts, and gave them to four men who were called kings. The first was called Manco Ccapac, the second Colla, the third Tocay, and the fourth Pinahua. They say that he gave the northern part to Manco Ccapac, the southern to Colla (from whose name they afterwards called that great province Colla), the eastern to Tocay, and the western to Pinahua. He ordered each to repair to his district, to conquer it, and to govern the people he might find there. But they do not say whether the deluge had drowned the people, or whether they had been brought to life again, in order to be conquered and instructed; and so it is with respect to all that they relate touching those times. They say that from this division of the world afterwards arose that which the Yncas made of their kingdom,

* A misprint for Tiahuanacu. The same misprint occurs in both editions (Lisbon 1609, and Madrid 1723). The word occurs again near the end of this chapter, and it is there spelt right in both editions.

called Ttahuantin-suyu. They declare that Manco Ccapac went towards the north, and arrived in the valley of Cuzco, where he founded a city, subdued the surrounding inhabitants, and instructed them. With the exception of this version of his origin, they tell almost the same story of Manco Ccapac as we have given above, and say that the kings Yncas were descended from him. But they do not know what became of the other three kings; and this is the way with all their accounts of ancient times, which is not to be wondered at, seeing that they had no letters wherewith to preserve the memory of their ancestors. Those of the heathen times in the Old World, possessing letters, and being so curious in using them, invented fables worthy to be laughed at, and in greater number than did these Indians. One such is the story of Pyrrha and Deucalion, and there are others which we might enumerate. The stories of the one age of heathenism may be compared with that of the other, and in many points they will be found to agree. The Indians, for instance, have a story resembling the history of Noah, as some Spaniards have desired to show; but we shall treat of this presently. I shall say, in the sequel, what I myself think respecting the origin of the Yncas.

The Indians to the north and east of the city of Cuzco give another account of the origin of the Yncas, resembling the above. They say that, in the beginning of the world, four men and four women, all brothers and sisters, came out of certain openings in the rocks near the city, in a place called Paucar-tampu. They came forth from the central openings, which are three in number, and they called them the royal window. Owing to this fable, they lined those openings with great plates of gold, covered with many precious stones, while the openings on the sides were only adorned with gold, and had no precious stones. They called the first brother Manco Capac, and his wife Mama Occllo. They say that he founded the city called Cuzco (which, in

the special language of the Yncas, means a navel), that he conquered the nations round that city, teaching them to live like men, and that from him all the Yncas were descended.* The second brother was called Ayar Cachi, the third Ayar

* Our author here gives us three legends respecting the origin of the Yncas; the first being the one preserved in the royal family, and actually told to Garcilasso by an Ynca of the blood royal; the second being the version generally received among the Indians in the southern and western parts of the empire; and the third being that prevalent to the eastward of Cuzco.

Herrera also gives three versions: the first being that prevailing to the south; the second having a family resemblance to the legend told by the old Ynca to Garcilasso, only much briefer; and the third being the same as that told by Garcilasso as existing to the eastward of Cuzco. *Herrera*, dec. iii, lib. ix, cap. i. He evidently copies from the Ynca.

The licentiate Fernando Montesinos visited Peru twice, a century after the conquest, and travelled for fifteen years through the country, collecting materials for his work. His *Memorials* treat of the ancient history of Peru, which he believed to be the Ophir of Solomon, and to have been peopled by emigrations from Armenia. He gives a catalogue of 101 kings of Peru, commencing five hundred years after the Deluge, and containing their ages, the exact length of each reign, and the most memorable events. He says that, five hundred years after the Deluge, the first inhabitants marched towards Cuzco, led by four brothers, named *Ayar Manco Topa*, *Ayar Cachi Topa*, *Ayar Anca Topa*, and *Ayar Uchu Topa*, who were accompanied by four wives, whose names he also gives. The youngest brother got rid of two of the others by closing them up in a cave, and the third fled. *Ayar Uchu Topa*, according to Montesinos, reigned for sixty years, and left the throne to his son Manco Ccapac.

This account given by Montesinos is evidently the same legend as Garcilasso heard from the Indians to the eastward of Cuzco, though mutilated by time, and doubtless garbled by Montesinos himself, who is a most untrustworthy authority. His catalogue is unworthy of attention.

Zarate says that the people in Peru were originally ruled by numerous *Curacas*, without any superior, until a very warlike race, called Ingas, came forth from the part of the Collas, near the banks of lake Titicaca. They had their heads shaved, and their ears bored, with large pieces of gold in the ears, which continually enlarged them. The chief of these people was called Sapalla Inga, which means sole lord, though some would have it that they called him Inga Viracocha, the meaning of

Uchu, and the fourth Ayar Sauca. The word *Ayar* has no meaning in the general language of Peru, though it probably has in the special idiom of the Yncas. The other words are in the general language. *Cachi* means the salt that we eat, and *Uchu* is the condiment they use for seasoning their dishes, which the Spaniards call pepper;* the Indians of Peru had no other kind. The other word *Sauca* signifies pleasure, satisfaction, or delight. On pressing the Indians with questions respecting these three brothers and sisters, their first kings, they repeat a thousand foolish tales; and finding no other way out of it, they invent an allegory. By the salt, which is one of the names, they say that the instruction which the Ynca gave in the rational life, is to be understood. The pepper represents the delight they received from this teaching; and the word for pleasure is to show the joy and satisfaction in which they afterwards lived. But even this is told in so disjointed and confused a style, that it is gathered from them more by conjecturing what they want to say than by following their discourse and the order of their words. They are clear upon one point, which is, that Manco Ccapac was the first king, and that all the others were descended from him. Thus all three legends point to Manco Ccapac as the beginning and origin of the Yncas; and of the other three brothers no further mention is made.† They either disappear in an allegory, or

which is "foam of the sea." These Ingas began to occupy the city of Cuzco, and from thence they subjugated the surrounding country. *Historia del Peru por Agustin de Zarate, Contador de mercedes de la Majestad Cesarea*, lib. i, cap. x, p. 13. Barcia Coll.

Cieza de Leon promises an account of the origin of the Yncas in another part of his work, which has never seen the light. (See my translation, p. 136.)

* *Uchu* is the Quichua for the Chile pepper which the Spaniards call aji (*Capsicum frutescens*).

† Cieza de Leon, a very high authority, and one who preceded Garcilasso, also says that Manco Ccapac was the first Ynca, according to the Indians.

else Manco Ccapac alone appears. And it is certain that no king nor any man of royal lineage had those names in after times, nor is there any nation that claims descent from them. Some curious Spaniards, hearing these legends, have tried to make out that these Indians had a knowledge of the history of Noah and his three sons, wife, and daughters-in-law, who were in all four men and four women saved by God from the flood. They would have it believed that these are the persons in the Indian legend,—that for the opening in the rock at Paucar-tampu is intended the window of the ark of Noah, by these Indians. Others say that by the powerful man who appeared in Tiahuanacu and divided the earth amongst four men, is meant God, who ordered Noah and his three sons to people the world. Other passages, either in one fable or the other, have been supposed to resemble the sacred history. I do not myself entertain such baseless views. I merely relate the historical legends that I heard from my relations, in my childhood, and each one may be treated as the reader pleases; and the allegory can fit in as it best may. The other nations of Peru invent numerous fables, like those we have related of the Yncas, touching their origin, and that of their first parents. They differ one from the other, as we shall see in the course of this history. An Indian is not looked upon as honorable unless he is descended from a fountain, river, or lake (or even the sea); or from a wild animal, such as a bear, lion, tiger, eagle, or the bird they call *cuntur*,* or some other bird of prey; or from a mountain, cave, or forest, each one as he fancies, for the better praise and glory of his name. What I have said will suffice for an account of the legends of these Indians.

Condor.

CHAPTER XIX.

PROTEST OF THE AUTHOR TOUCHING THE HISTORY.

Now that we have laid the foundation stone of our history (although it be fabulous), being the origin of the Yncas, Kings of Peru, it will be well to pass on and give an account of the conquest and subjugation of the Indians, extending the narrative somewhat, which was given me by my uncle the Ynca, together with a narrative touching many other Yncas and Indians, natives of the settlements which the first Ynca, Manco Ccapac, ordered to be formed, and included in his empire. I was brought up amongst these Indians and held intercourse with them until I was twenty years of age. During that time I acquired a knowledge of all the matters on which we are about to treat; for in my childhood they told me their histories, just as they tell stories to children. Afterwards, when I had reached a more advanced age, they gave me a long account of their laws and government, comparing them with the new government of the Spaniards. They enumerated the crimes with their punishments in the days of the Yncas, and related how their kings governed in peace and in war, in what manner they treated their vassals, and how they were served by them. Besides they told me, as to their own son, of all their idolatries, rites, ceremonies, and sacrifices, of their festivals, their superstitions and abuses, and of all their customs, good or evil; as well those relating to their sacrifices, as others. In short, I may declare that they related to me all things connected with their commonwealth; and if I had then written it all down, this history would be more copious. Besides what the Indians told me, I had the opportunity of seeing with my own eyes, a great many of their idolatrous customs,

their festivals and superstitions, which were still celebrated even until I was twelve or thirteen years of age. I was born eight years after the Spaniards conquered my country, and, as I have before said, I was brought up in it until my twentieth year, so that I myself saw many things that were practised by the Indians in the time of their idolatry, and which I shall relate.

But in addition to what my relations told me, and to what I myself saw, I have heard many other accounts of the conquests and acts of those kings; for as soon as I resolved to write this history I wrote to my old schoolfellows, asking them each to help me by sending me an account of the particular conquest which the Yncas achieved in the provinces of their mothers; for each province has its history, and its knots with their recorded annals and traditions, and thus each province retains a more accurate account of what took place within its borders, than of what happened beyond them. My schoolfellows, taking what I had sought from them in earnest, reported my intention to their mothers and relations, who, on hearing that an Indian, a child of their own land, intended to write a history of it, brought out the accounts which they possessed, from the archives, and sent them to me. It was thus that I obtained the records of the deeds and conquests of each Ynca, which is the same as the Spanish historians heard, except that this is longer, as we shall point out in many parts of it. As the deeds of the first Ynca form the commencement and foundation of the history we are about to write, it will be well that we should give them here, at least the most important, that we may not have to repeat them further on, in the lives and acts of each of the Yncas his descendants. For all these, whether they were kings or not, loved to imitate the deeds and customs of the first Prince Manco Ccapac. We shall now carefully relate the more authentic acts, leaving out many others as dull and absurd; and though some of the former may appear

fabulous, it seems well to insert them, so as not to omit the foundations on which the Indians build the whole story of their empire. For from these fabulous beginnings proceeded the greatness which is now actually possessed by Spain, and it will be well, therefore, to give the best possible account of the beginnings and endings of that monarchy. I protest that I shall relate freely the accounts which I imbibed with my mother's milk, and those which I afterwards received from my relations; and I promise that I will not swerve from the truth, either to gloss over the evil or to exaggerate the good that was done. I know well that heathenism is an ocean of errors. I will not write down new things, but will relate the same events as the Spanish historians have written concerning that land, and its kings, using their very words whenever it is convenient, not inventing fictions in praise of my relations, but saying the same things as have been recorded by the Spaniards. My history will thus serve as a commentary to amplify and explain many things which they hastily assumed or left half told, not having obtained the full account of them. Many other things will be added, which are wanting in the histories, and others will be passed over as superfluous or false, the Spaniards not being able to make their inquiries with reference to time, ages, or divisions of the provinces and nations; or not properly understanding their informants, owing to the difficulty of the language. A Spaniard who thinks he knows the language best is generally ignorant of nine parts of it out of ten, from the number of meanings to each word, and the differences of pronunciation. A single word often has very different meanings, as will be explained further on in the case of certain words, the meanings of which it will be necessary to explain.

Besides this, in all that I shall say touching this empire, which was destroyed as soon as it was known, I shall narrate all that in ancient times related to their idolatry, rites, sacri-

fices, and ceremonies, their government, laws, and customs in peace and war, without comparing these things with other similar customs met with both in divine as well as profane history, nor with the government of our own times, for all comparisons are odious. He who may read, can compare at his pleasure, and he will find many things resembling those of ancient times, as well in the sacred as in profane writings, and among the fables of ancient heathenry. He will meet with many laws and customs which resemble those of our times, others he will find which are quite different. I have done what I was able, without having been able to do all that I desired. I beseech the discreet reader to accept my desire, which is to give pleasure and satisfaction; though neither the energy nor the ability of an Indian, born amongst the Indians, and brought up amidst horses and arms, may be able to achieve this aim.

CHAPTER XX.

THE VILLAGES WHICH THE FIRST YNCA ORDERED TO BE FOUNDED.

Returning to the Ynca Manco Ccapac, we have to say that after founding Cuzco in the two divisions which we have described before, he ordered many other towns to be built. To the eastward, among the people who dwell on that side, so far as the river Paucar-tampu, he founded thirteen villages on either side of the royal road of Antisuyu.* We do not name these, to avoid prolixity; but all, or nearly all, are inhabited by the nation called Poquès. To the westward of the city, over a space eight leagues long and nine or ten broad, he ordered thirty villages to be built,

* The eastern division of the empire. The *Antis* are a wild tribe of Indians in the forest to the eastward of the Andes.

which are scattered on either side of the royal road of Cuntisuyu.* These villages were inhabited by three tribes with different names, which were, Masca, Chillqui, Papri. To the north of the city he formed twenty villages, and peopled them with four different tribes, namely, Mayu, Cancu, Chinchapucyu, and Rimac-tampu. The rest of these villages are in the beautiful valley of Sacsahuana, where the battle and capture of Gonzalo Pizarro took place. The most distant of these villages is seven leagues from the city, and the others are scattered about on either side of the royal road of Chincha-suyu.†

To the south of the city he peopled thirty-eight or forty villages, eighteen of the Ayamarca nation, which are scattered on either side of the royal road of Colla-suyu,‡ for a distance of three leagues, beginning from the borders of the salt pans, which are a short league from the city. It was there that the lamentable battle between Don Diego de Almagro the elder and Hernando Pizarro was fought. The other villages are inhabited by tribes of five or six different names—Quespicancha, Muyna, Urcos, Quehuar, Huaruc, Caviña. This Caviña nation vainly believed that their forefathers came out of a lake, to which, they said, the souls of those who died, returned, and thence came forth, and entered the bodies of those who were born. They had an idol of a frightful form, to which they offered very barbarous sacrifices. The Ynca Manco Ccapac abolished these sacrifices and the idols; and ordered them to worship the Sun, like his other vassals.

These villages, which numbered more than a hundred, were at first small, the largest not having more than a hundred houses, and the smallest about twenty-five or thirty.

* The western division of the empire.

† The northern division of the empire.

‡ The southern division of the empire, now called the Collao, including lake Titicaca. It is inhabited by the Aymara nation.

Afterwards, owing to the favours and privileges granted to them by Manco Ccapac, as we shall relate presently, they increased very much, and many of them reached a population of a thousand inhabitants, the smaller ones having from 300 to 400. Long afterwards the great tyrant Atahualpa destroyed many of these towns. In our own times, not more than twenty years ago, these towns, which were founded by the Ynca Manco Ccapac, and almost all the others in Peru, were moved from the original sites to other very different situations; because a Viceroy,* as we shall relate in its place, ordered all to be converted into a smaller number of larger towns, uniting five or six into one, and seven or eight into another. Whence resulted much inconvenience, which, being hateful, I will refrain from describing.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE THINGS WHICH THE YNCA TAUGHT TO HIS VASSALS.

The Ynca Manco Ccapac, in establishing his people in villages, while he taught them to cultivate the land, to build houses, construct channels for irrigation, and to do all other things necessary for human life; also instructed them in the ways of polite and brotherly companionship, in conformity with reason and the law of nature, persuading them, with much earnestness, to preserve perpetual peace and concord between themselves, and not to entertain anger or passionate feelings towards each other, but to do to one another as they would others should do to them, not laying down one law for themselves and another for their neighbours. He particularly enjoined them to respect the wives and daughters of others; because they were formerly more vicious in respect to women, than in any other thing whatever. He imposed

* Don Francisco de Toledo, A.D. 1569-81.

the penalty of death on adulterers, homicides, and thieves. He ordered no man to have more than one wife, and that marriages should take place between relations, so as to prevent confusion in families, also that marriages should take place at the age of twenty years and upwards, that the married couples might be able to rule their households, and work their estates. He directed the tame flocks, which wandered over the country without a master, to be collected, so that all people might be clothed with their wool, by reason of the industry and skill which had been taught to the women by the Queen Mama Occllo Huaco. They were also taught to make the shoes which are now used, called *usata*.* A Curaca, which is the same as a Cacique in the language of Cuba and San Domingo, and means lord of vassals, was appointed over every nation that was subjugated. The Curacas were chosen from among those who had done most in conquering the Indians, for their merit, as being most affable, gentle, and pious, and most zealous for the public good. They were constituted lords over the others, that they might instruct them as a father does his children, and the Indians were ordered to obey them, as sons obey their parents.

He ordered that the harvests gathered by each village, should be preserved in common, so that each might be supplied with what it required, until arrangements could be made for giving an allotment of land to each Indian. Together with these precepts and laws, he taught the Indians the worship of his idolatrous religion. The Yncas selected a spot for building a temple where they might sacrifice to the Sun, persuading the people that it was the principal God whom they should worship, and to whom they should

* A sandal made of llama hide, and secured with thongs of the same material. The Indians did not know the art of tanning these hides with bark; but they dressed them in large holes, and, burying them in rich earth, left them for some time.

give thanks for the natural benefits which he conferred on them by his light and heat. For they saw that these properties of the Sun caused their crops to grow and their flocks to multiply, and produced the other mercies which they received every day: and they were instructed that their worship and service were more especially due to the Sun and Moon, for having sent their children to take them from the wild life they had hitherto led, and to bring them to a more civilised condition. The Ynca ordered them to make a house of women for the Sun, so soon as they should have a sufficient number of females of the blood royal to replenish the house. All these things he ordered them to comply with and attend to as a people who were grateful for the benefits they had received; and, on the part of his father the Sun, he promised them many other blessings if they were obedient, telling them that they might be very sure that he would not say these things, if they had not been revealed to him by the Sun, who had ordered him to repeat them to the Indians, and who guided him as a father, in all he said and did. The Indians, with the simplicity they have always displayed down to our own times, believed all that the Ynca said, and chiefly what he said touching his being a child of the Sun. For there were tribes among themselves who professed to have similar fabulous descents, as we shall presently relate, though they did not comprehend how to select ancestors as well as the Ynca, but adored animals and other low and earthy objects. The Indians of those and later times compared their descent with that of Yncas, and, seeing that the benefits conferred on them by the latter testified in their favour, believed most firmly that the first Ynca was a child of the Sun, and promised to comply with all his demands, worshipping him as such, and confessing that no mortal man could have done to them the things that he had done. They, therefore, believed that he was a divine man come down from heaven.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE HONOURABLE BADGES WHICH THE YNCA GAVE TO HIS FOLLOWERS.

In the above affairs, and in other similar occupations, the Ynca Manco Ccapac was occupied during many years, conferring benefits on his people; and, having experienced their fidelity and love, and the respect and adoration with which they treated him, he desired to favour them still farther by ennobling them with titles, and badges such as he wore on his own head, and this was after he had persuaded them that he was a child of the Sun. The Ynca Manco Ccapac, and afterwards his descendants, in imitation of him, were shorn, and only wore a tress of hair one finger in width. They were shaven with stone razors, scraping the hair off, and only leaving the above-mentioned tress. They used knives of stone, because they had not invented scissors, shaving themselves with great trouble, as any one may imagine. When they afterwards experienced the facility and ease afforded by the use of scissors, one of the Yncas said to an old schoolfellow of mine:—"If the Spaniards, your fathers, had done nothing more than bring us scissors, looking-glasses, and combs, we would have given all the gold and silver there is in our land, for them." Besides having their heads shaved, they bored their ears, just as women are usually bored for ear-rings; except that they increased the size of the hole artificially (as I shall more fully relate in the proper place) to a wonderful greatness, such as would be incredible to those who have not seen it, for it would seem impossible that so small a quantity of flesh as there is under the ear, could be so stretched as to be able to surround a hole of the size and shape of the mouth of a pitcher.

The ornaments they put in the holes were like stoppers, and if the lobes were broken the flesh would hang down a quarter of a *vara* in length, and half a finger in thickness. The Spaniards called the Indians *Orejones* (large-eared men) because they had this custom.

The Yncas wore, as a head-dress, a fringe which they called *llautu*. It was of many colours, about a finger in width, and a little less in thickness. They twisted this fringe three or four times round the head, and let it hang after the manner of a garland.

These three fashions, the *llautu*, the *shaving*, and the *boring of the ears* were the principal ones that were introduced by the Ynca Manco Ccapac. There were others which we shall describe presently, and which were peculiar to the sovereign, no one else being permitted to use them. The first privilege that the Ynca granted to his vassals was to order them to imitate him in wearing a fringe; only it was not to be of many colours like the one worn by the Ynca, but of one colour only, and that colour was black.

After some time another fashion was granted to the people, and they were ordered to go shaven, but in a fashion differing one from another, and all from the Ynca, that there might be no confusion in the distinctions between nations and provinces, and that they might not have too near a resemblance to the Ynca. Thus one tribe was ordered to wear the tail plait like a cap for the ears; that is, with the forehead and temples bare, and the plaits reaching down so as to cover the ears on either side. Others were ordered to cut the tail plait so as only to reach half way down the ears, and others still shorter. But none were allowed to wear the hair so short as that of the Ynca. It is also to be observed that all these Indians, and especially the Yncas, took care not to let the hair grow, but always kept it at a certain length, that it might not appear after one fashion on one day, and after another on another. Thus regulated as to

the fashion and differences of the head-dress, each nation kept to its own, which was decreed and ordained by the hand of the Ynca.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF OTHER FASHIONS, AND OF THE NAME OF YNCA.

After several months and years had elapsed, the Ynca granted his people another privilege, more important than those already mentioned, which was that of boring their ears. This privilege, however, was limited with reference to the size of the hole, which was not to be so much as half that of the Ynca, and each tribe and province wore a different stopper in the ear hole. To some he granted the privilege of wearing a wisp of straw in their ears, the size of a little finger, and these were of the nations called Mayu and Cancu. Others were to have a tuft of white wool, which was to come out on each side as far as the length of the first joint of a man's thumb, and these were of the nation called Pòques. The nations called Muyna and Huarac Chillqui were ordered to wear ear ornaments made of common reeds, called by the Indians *tutura*. The nation of Rimac-tampu and its neighbours wore their ear ornament made of the pole which is called *maguey* in the Windward Islands, and *chuchau*† in the general language of Peru. When the bark is removed, the pith is very soft and light. The three tribes called Urcos, Yucay, and Tampu, all living in the valley of the river Yucay,‡ were ordered, as a particular favour and honour, to wear a larger hole in their ears than any of the other nations. But, that it might not reach

* See more on the same subject further on, lib. vii, cap. 9.

† The *Agave Americana*.

‡ Or *Vilca-mayu*.

to half the size of the Ynca's hole, he gave them a measure of the size of his hole, as he had done to all the other tribes. He also ordered their stoppers to be made of the reed *tutura*, that they might more resemble those of the Ynca. They called the ornaments ear stoppers, and not ear drops, because they did not hang from the ears, but were closed in by the sides of the hole, like a stopper in the mouth of a jar.

Besides the signs which were intended to prevent confusion between one tribe and another, the Ynca ordered other differences in the fashions of his vassals, which they said were intended to show the degree of favour and trust in which they were held, according as they resembled the badges of the Ynca. But he did not like one vassal more than another from any caprice, but in conformity with reason and justice. Those who most readily followed his precepts, and who had worked most in the subjugation of the other Indians, were allowed to imitate the Ynca most closely in their badges, and received more favours than the others. He gave them to understand that all he did with regard to them was by an order and revelation of his father the Sun. And the Indians, believing this, were well satisfied with every thing that was ordered by the Ynca, and with any manner in which he might treat them; for, besides believing that his orders were revelations of the Sun, they saw, by experience, the benefits that were derived from obedience to them.

Finally, when the Ynca grew old, he ordered his principal vassals to assemble in the city of Cuzco, and said to them, in a solemn discourse, that he should soon return to heaven to rest with his father the Sun, who had called him (the same words were always used by the kings, his descendants, when they felt the approach of death), and that he must leave them. As he had to part with them, he continued, he desired to crown his favours to them by allowing

them to use his royal name; and he ordered that they and their descendants should live honoured and esteemed by the whole world. Thus, that they might know the paternal love with which he regarded them, he decreed that they, and their descendants for ever, should be called Yncas, without any difference or distinction between them, in the same way as they had enjoyed his other past favours and honours. He said that they should enjoy the distinction of this name, as being his first vassals, whom he loved as sons, and therefore desired to grant them his insignia, and royal name, and to call them sons. He trusted that, as sons, they would serve the present king, and those who succeeded him, in the conquest and subjugation of other Indians, for the increase of the empire. He told them to preserve all he had said in their hearts and memories, like loyal vassals; but he did not will that their wives and daughters should be called Pallas, like those of the blood royal, because women, not being capable of bearing arms to serve in war like men, ought not to bear the royal names.

From these Yncas, to whom the privilege of using the name was granted, are descended those who at present exist in Peru who are called Yncas, and whose women are called Pallas and Ccoyas.

But there are very few Yncas of the blood royal now surviving, and, owing to their poverty, only one here and there is known, for most of them were destroyed by the tyranny and cruelty of Atahualpa. Of the few who escaped from his cruelty, the chief and most important members of the family were killed in other calamities, as we shall relate further on, in the proper place. Of the badges which the Ynca Manco Ccapac wore as a head-dress, he only reserved one especially for himself, and for the kings his descendants. This was a red fringe, in the fashion of a border, which he wore across his forehead from one temple to the other. The prince, who was heir apparent, wore a yellow fringe, which was smaller

than that of his father. Of the ceremonies which were observed in conferring these badges, when the prince was sworn, and of the other insignia which the Kings Yncas afterwards adopted, we shall speak in the proper place, when we treat of the arms of the Yncas.

The Indians esteemed very highly the favour which was shown them by conferring these badges used also by the royal person; and although they had the differences we have described, they accepted them with great rejoicing, because the Ynca made them believe that they were granted by order of the Sun, according to the merits of each tribe; and for this reason they valued them exceedingly. When they learnt the greatness of the final favour, which was the privilege to use the name of Ynca, and that this was not only granted to them but also to their descendants, they were so astonished at the liberality and munificence of their prince that they knew not how to show their gratitude. They said amongst themselves that the Ynca, not content with having brought them from the condition of wild beasts to that of rational beings; nor with having conferred on them so many blessings in teaching them the things necessary for human life, the laws of natural morality, and the knowledge of their God the Sun; had deigned to grant them his own royal badges. Finally, in place of imposing tribute, he had conferred on them the majesty of his name, which was so much respected as to be looked upon by them as sacred and divine, insomuch that no man might use it except with the utmost veneration as the name of the king. Yet now he had made it so common as that they might all make use of it freely; being his adopted sons, and vassals of the child of the Sun.

CHAPTER XXIV.

NAMES BY WHICH THE INDIANS KNEW THEIR KING.

The Indians, well considering the greatness of the love and mercy with which the Ynca had treated them, praised and blessed him exceedingly, seeking titles and names for their prince which should express the grandeur of his soul, and indicate his heroic virtues; and, among those which they invented, I will mention two. The first was *Ccapac*, which signifies rich, not in estates nor in the gifts of fortune as the Indians generally use the word, but rich in the gifts of the mind, in meekness, piety, clemency, liberality, justice, magnanimity, and the desire to do good to the poor. As this Ynca had done so much good to his vassals, they said that he might worthily be called *Ccapac*. The word also means rich and powerful in war. The other name was *Huaccha-cuyac*, which means a lover and benefactor of the poor. Thus the first name signified the greatness of his mind, and the second had reference to the benefits he had conferred on his people. From that time the prince was called Manco Ccapac, having previously been known as Manco Ynca. Manco is a proper name, but we know not what signification it had in the general language of Peru, though in the special language in which the Yncas talked to each other (but which, as I am informed in letters from Peru, is now entirely lost) it must have had a meaning, for generally the names of the kings had some signification, as we shall explain when we give the other names. The name Ynca, when applied to the prince, signified lord, king, or emperor; and when used by others it meant lord, but to explain its actual meaning, it may be said to indicate a person of the blood royal. The Curacas, great lords as they

were, did not receive the name of Ynca. Palla means a woman of the blood royal. To distinguish the sovereign from the rest of the Yncas, they called him Sapa* Ynca, which means sole lord, just as the subjects of the Turk call him *Gran Señor*. Further on, we shall give all the royal names, male and female, for the information of the curious, who may desire to know them. The Indians also called their first king and his descendants *Yutip churi*,† which is as much as to say "Child of the Sun;" but this name was given more out of simplicity, as they ignorantly believed in it, than from a desire to deceive.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE WILL AND DEATH OF THE YNCA MANCO CCAPAC.

Manco Ccapac reigned many years, but it is not certainly known how many. Some say that he reigned more than thirty years, others more than forty; always occupied in the works we have described. When he felt the approach of death, he called together his sons, who were numerous, as well by his wife the Queen Mama Occllo Huaco, as by the concubines he had taken, saying that it was well that there should be many children of the Sun. He also called together his principal vassals, and, instead of a will, he delivered to them a long discourse, commending to the prince his heir, and the rest of his sons, the duty of love and kindness towards his vassals; and to his vassals he ordered the observation of fidelity and loyalty to their king, and of obedience to the laws that he had made, declaring that they

* *Sapa* (Mossi spells it *Zapa*) means "only one." It is added to nouns as a particle, to denote quantity or size, as *Uma-sapa* (big head), *Yuyay-sapa* (very thoughtful).

† *Yntip* is the genitive of *Ynti*, the sun. *Churi*, a son.

were ordained by inspiration from his father the Sun. He then dismissed his vassals, while he delivered another discourse to his sons in private, which was the last he ever made. He ordered them always to keep in mind that they were children of the Sun, and to adore and respect him as their God and father. He told them that, in imitation of him, they should see that his laws and commands were obeyed, and that they should be the first to observe them, so as to set an example to their vassals. He told them to be gentle and pious, and to subjugate the Indians by kindness rather than by force, for that those who were conquered by force would never be good vassals. He also desired them to rule with justice, and to suffer no wrongs to exist. Finally, he besought them, in their virtues, to show themselves to be children of the Sun, certifying by their acts what they said in words, that the Indians might believe them, for, if they said one thing and did another, it would cause scandal. He directed that all he had said to them might be delivered to their sons and descendants from generation to generation, that they might observe and comply with what his father the Sun had ordered, affirming that all were his words, and that he thus left them as a last will and testament. He said that the Sun had called him, and that he was going to rest with his father, leaving them in peace, and that he would watch over and succour them in all their necessities, from heaven. Saying these and many other similar things, the Ynca Manco Ccapac died. He left, as the prince his heir,* his eldest son by the Ccoya Mama Occllo Huaco, his wife and sister, named Sinchi Roca.† Besides the Prince, these sovereigns left other sons and daughters, who married each other to preserve the purity of their blood, which was fabulously said to be de-

* The heir-apparent was called *Yncap sapay churin* (sole or chief son of the Ynca).

† *Sinchi*, strong. *Roca* has no special meaning in Quichua.

rived from the Sun. In truth, they held in the highest veneration a pure descent from those sovereigns whom they looked upon as divine, and all others human; even the great lords over vassals, who were called Curacas.

The Ynca Sinchi Roca married Mama Ocello, or Mama Cora (as others have it) his eldest sister, in imitation of his father, and of his grandfather the Sun who married the Moon; for, in the times of idolatry, they believed that the Moon was the sister and wife of the Sun. They married in this way to preserve the purity of their blood, and that the heir might inherit the kingdom as much from his mother as from his father, and also for other reasons which we shall explain more fully, further on. The other legitimate and illegitimate sons also married their sisters, to preserve and increase the descendants of the Yncas. They said that the Sun had ordered this marriage between brothers and sisters, and that the Ynca Manco Ccapac had delivered the order, that the blood might be preserved pure; but afterwards no one might marry his sister except only the heir of the Ynca. They observed this rule, as we shall see in the course of the history.

The vassals mourned for the Ynca Manco Ccapac with great sorrow, and the obsequies and mourning lasted for many months. They embalmed his body so as to keep it with them, and not to lose sight of it. They worshipped it as God, the child of the Sun, and offered up to it many sacrifices of sheep, lambs, wild rabbits, birds, maize, and pulses; confessing it to be lord of all things here below.

I am inclined to conjecture, from what I saw of the condition and nature of these people, that the origin of this prince Manco Ynca, who was named by his vassals Manco Ccapac, by reason of his great qualities, was as follows. He may have been some Indian of good understanding, prudence, and judgment, who appreciated the great simplicity of those nations, and saw the necessity they had for instruc-

tion and teaching in natural life. He may have invented a fable with sagacity and astuteness, that he might be respected; saying that he and his wife were children of the Sun, who had come from Heaven, and that their Father had sent them to teach and do good to the people. In order to ensure belief, he probably adopted a peculiar dress and fashion, particularly the great ears affected by the Yncas, which would certainly be incredible to any one who had not seen them, as I have. A person now seeing them (if they are still used) would be astonished at their being so enlarged. The belief in the fable of the Ynca's origin would be confirmed by the benefits and privileges he conferred on the Indians, until they at last firmly believed that he was the Child of the Sun, come from Heaven.* Then they may have begun to worship him, as the ancient gentiles, who were less barbarous, worshipped other men who had done them similar services. For it is so, that these Indians are never so much struck by anything as at beholding that their masters act in conformity with their teaching; and shape their lives according to their doctrine. They then require no argument to convince them that they should obey. I have said this because neither the Yncas of the blood royal nor the common people know of any other origin for their kings than what is given in their fabulous histories, which agree with each other, and all concur in making Manco Ccapac the first Ynca.

* All this is sensible enough, and gives no justification to the assertions of numerous modern writers that our author was partial and credulous in all matters relating to his maternal ancestors.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THE ROYAL NAMES AND THEIR MEANINGS.

It will be well if we now give a brief account of the signification of the royal titles, as well of the men as of the women, and to whom they were applied, and how used. It will be seen how the Yncas applied their names and surnames, which is a matter worthy of remark.

Beginning with the name Ynca, it must be understood that when applied to the royal person it meant king or emperor; but when given to those of his lineage it signified a person of the blood royal, and the name was applied to all who were descendants in the male, but not in the female line. They called their kings Sapa Ynca, which means sole king or sole emperor or sole lord; for *Sapa* means sole. They do not give this title to any other member of the royal family, not even to the heir, until he has inherited; for the king being alone, they cannot give his title to another, which would be to make many kings. They also called him *Huaccha-cuyac,* which means a lover and benefactor of the poor; and this title was also given exclusively to the kings, for the special care which all of them, from the first to the last, took of the welfare of their people. I have already given the meaning of the word *Ccapac,* which is rich and magnanimous, and of royal dignity. They gave this title to the king only and to no other, because he was their chief benefactor. They also called him *Yutip-churi,* which means Son of the Sun, and this title was also applied to all the males of the blood royal, because, according to the fable, they were descended from the Sun, but it was not given to the females. The sons of the kings and all their relations in the male line were called

Auqui, which is equivalent to *Infante*, the word used in Spain for the king's younger sons. They preserved this title until they were married, and after marriage they were called Ynca.* These were the names and titles that were applied to the king and to the men of the blood royal, besides others which we shall mention farther on, and which, being proper names, were continued as the surnames of their descendants.

As to the names and titles of the women of the blood royal, the queen, being the legitimate wife of the king, was called *Ccoya*, which means queen or empress. They also gave her another title, which was *Mamanchic*,† meaning "our mother", because, in imitation of her husband, she assumed the office of a mother to all her relations and vassals. Her daughters were called Ccoya from the relationship to their mother, and not as being their own proper name, for this title of Ccoya belonged only to the queen. The concubines of the king, being his relations, and all other women of the blood royal, were called *Palla*. The other concubines of the king, not being of his blood, were known as *Mana-cuna*,‡ which is as much as to say—matrons or women who have to perform the office of mothers. The Infantas, daughters of the king, and all his female relations of the blood royal, were called *ñusta*, which means virgin of the blood royal. But there was this difference. The legitimate daughters of the blood royal were simply called *ñusta*, which was sufficient to intimate that they were legitimate. The illegitimate daughters had the name of the province to which thoir mothers belonged added to their titles, as *Colla-ñusta*, *Huanca-ñusta*, *Ynca-ñusta*, *Quitu-ñusta*, and so on with the other provinces. They retained the

* A married prince of the blood royal was also called *Atauchi*.

† *Mama*, a mother; and *chic* or *nchic*, a form of the inclusive plural (first person) of the possessive pronoun.

‡ *Mama*, mother; and *cuna*, the ordinary plural particle.

title of ñusta until they were married, when they were called Palla.

These names and titles were given to the descendants of the blood royal in the male line, and, if this was wanting, although the mother might be a relation of the king (for the kings often gave their illegitimate relations as wives to the great lords) the sons and daughters did not take the titles of the blood royal, and were not called either Ynca or Palla, but merely by the names of their fathers. For the Yncas did not value a descent by the female line, lest it should degrade their royal blood from its purity. Even the male descent lost much of its royal character from mixing with the blood of strange wives not being of the same lineage, and how much more would the female descent become corrupt. Comparing the names one with another, we see that the title *Ccoya*, which is queen, corresponds with *Sapa Ynca*, which is sole lord. The word *Mamanchic*, meaning "our mother", answers to *Huaccha-cuyac*, which is lover and benefactor of the poor. The title *ñusta* or Infanta corresponds with *Auqui*, and the title *Palla*, or married woman of the blood royal, with the title *Ynca*.* These were the royal titles which I heard the Yncas use among each other and to the Pallas; for my chief intercourse, in my childhood, was with them. The Curacas, how great lords soever, could not use these titles, nor their wives and children; for they appertained exclusively to the blood royal, in the male line. Howbeit Don Alonzo de Ercilla y Zuñiga, in the explanation he gives of Indian words, in the elegant verses which he wrote, declares that the word *Palla* means a lady with many vassals and great estates.† He says this because,

* Or *Atauchi*, married man of the blood royal.

† At the beginning of the *Araucana*, the epic poem written by Don Alonzo de Ercilla, there is a glossary headed "Declaration of some doubts which may offer themselves in this work." In this glossary, under the head *Palla*, there is the following explanation—"Palla is the

when he passed that way, the names of Ynca and Palla had already been adopted improperly by many persons; for illustrious and heroic titles are sought after by every body, however base and low born they may be; and thus, there being no one to prevent it, the highest titles are usurped. This is what has happened in my country.

same as we call lady; but amongst them this name is only used for ladies of noble lineage, and possessing many vassals and great estates." *La Araucana,* parte i. *Su Autor Don Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga, Madrid, por Don Antonio de Sancha, año de* 1776, p. 1.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

SECOND BOOK

OF THE

ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE YNCAS,

IN WHICH AN ACCOUNT IS GIVEN OF THE IDOLATRY OF THE YNCAS, AND HOW THEY SOUGHT OUR TRUE GOD; HOW THEY HELD THE DOCTRINE OF THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL, AND THE UNIVERSAL RESURRECTION. IT DESCRIBES THEIR SACRIFICES AND CEREMONIES, AND HOW, FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THEIR PEOPLE, THEY WERE REGISTERED IN DECURIAS; OF THE OFFICE OF DECURION.

THE LIFE AND CONQUESTS OF SINCHI ROCA, THE SECOND KING, AND OF LLOQUE YUPANQUI, THE THIRD KING; AND OF THE SCIENCES ATTAINED TO BY THE YNCAS.

THE BOOK CONTAINS TWENTY-EIGHT CHAPTERS.

THE SECOND BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE IDOLATRY OF THE SECOND AGE, AND OF ITS ORIGIN.

THAT which we call the second age, and the idolatry that was practised in it, had its origin with Manco Ccapac, the Ynca who first established the empire of the Yncas, kings of Peru, who reigned for a period of four hundred years, though the Father Blas Valera says that it was for more than five hundred and near six hundred years. We have already spoken of Manco Ccapac, relating who he was and whence he came, how he founded his empire and subjugated the Indians who were his first vassals, teaching them to sow, and rear flocks, to build houses, and to perform the other acts necessary to sustain the natural life. We recounted how his sister and wife, the Queen Mama Ocllo Huaco, taught the women to sew, weave, and bring up their children, to serve their husbands with love and cheerfulness, and to perform all the other household duties of a good wife. We also stated that they taught the natural laws to their people, and gave them laws and precepts for a moral life, for the common good of all, that they might not offend each other, either in their honour or their estates. They also taught the Indians their idolatry and ordered them to worship the Sun as principal God, persuading them that it was right to do so, by reason of its beauty and splendour. They declared that the Pachacamac* (which means the sustainer of the world) had not in vain advanced the Sun so far above all the stars of

* *Pacha*, the earth; and *Camac*, participle of *Camani*, I create.

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heaven, granting them as his servants, that they might adore him, and hold him as their God. They represented the benefits which he conferred every day, and that which he had finally conferred upon them by sending his children to bring them from the condition of brutes to that of men, as they already knew from experience, and would see hereafter more fully, as time went on. On the other hand they undeceived the Indians respecting their own base and vile gods, asking them what trust they could have in things so contemptible, to help them in time of need? and what benefits they had received from those animals, as they had done every day from their father the Sun. They pointed out that a glance would undeceive them, and show that the herbs, plants, and trees which they worshipped were created by the Sun for the use of men and the sustenance of beasts. They showed the difference between the splendour and beauty of the Sun and the ugliness and filth of the frog, the lizard, and the other vermin they looked upon as gods. Moreover, they ordered the Indians to hunt these vermin, saying that they should rather cause horror and dislike than give rise to feelings of esteem and adoration. With these arguments, and others as simple, the Ynca Manco Ccàpac persuaded his first vassals to adore the Sun and receive him as their God.

The Indians, convinced by the reasoning of the Ynca, and many more by the benefits he had conferred on them, and undeceived by their own eyes, accepted the Sun as their sole God, without the company of father or brother. They held their kings to be his children, because they very simply believed that the man and woman who had done so much for them must be his children come down from heaven. Thus they adored them as divine, and afterwards they did the same to all their descendants with much more veneration, both outwardly and inwardly, than the ancient Gentiles, Greeks, and Romans, worshipped Jupiter, Venus, or

Mars. I may affirm that they adore them to this day, as they did formerly, and make great show of veneration when they name any of their Kings Yncas. When they are upbraided for this, and asked why they do it when they know that their kings were men like themselves and not gods, they say that they are now undeceived respecting their idolatry, but that they venerate their old kings for the many and great blessings they received from them; that they treated their vassals as Yncas and children of the Sun would do, and that if other men like them should appear now, they would also adore them as divine.

This was the principal idolatry of the Yncas, and that which they taught their vassals; and though they made many sacrifices, which we shall describe farther on, and had many superstitions, such as believing in dreams, watching for omens, and other follies, yet their sole God was the Sun, whom they worshipped for his many benign qualities, being a people more thoughtful and reasonable than their ancestors of the first age. They erected temples to the Sun of incredible richness. Although they held the moon to be the sister and wife of the Sun, and the mother of the Yncas, they did not worship her as a Goddess, nor offer sacrifices to her, nor build temples in her honour. They held her in great veneration as the universal mother, but went no further in their idolatry. They held lightning and thunder to be servants of the Sun, as we shall see presently, in describing the chamber that was set apart for them in the house of the Sun at Cuzco; but they did not look upon them as Gods, though some Spanish historians have said as much.* On the con-

* Mr. Prescott gives his high authority in support of the Spanish historians Ondegardo, Herrera, and Gomara, and against Garcilasso de la Vega, in this matter. Yet surely, in a question relating to the religion of his ancestors, the testimony of the Ynca, who was intimately acquainted with the language and traditions of his people, is worth more than that of all the Spanish historians put together, Cieza de Leon alone excepted.

trary, they detested and do still abominate the house or any other place where it is certain that a thunder-bolt has fallen. They closed the door of such a house with mud and stones, that no one might enter it, and when a bolt fell on the ground, they marked the spot with a heap, that no one might tread there. They considered these places to be accursed and unlucky, and said that the sun marked them as such by his servant the thunder-bolt. I saw this myself in Cuzco, with reference to the palace of the Ynca Huayna Ccapac, part of which fell to the share of Antonio Altamirano,* when the city was divided amongst the conquerors. A bolt had fallen on a room in it, in the time of Huayna Ccapac, and the Indians had closed up the doors with stones and mud, looking upon the circumstance as an evil omen for their king. They said that he would lose part of his empire, or that some similar misfortune would befall him,

Gomara says that the Indians of Peru had many idols, and he enumerates sharks, lions, birds, the sun, the moon, the earth, etc. He makes no distinction between the Yncas and the numerous other nations of South America, and his testimony on this point is therefore valueless. Herrera, never having been in the Indies, writes at second-hand. *Gomara*, cap. cxxi, p. 112; *Herrera*, dec. v, lib. iv, cap. 4.

* Antonio Altamirano was one of the first conquerors, and in the division of the city of Cuzco his share turned out a prize. He was allotted a portion of the palace of the Ynca Huayna Ccapac, called the *Amaru-cancha*, from the serpents carved in relief on the stones forming the outer wall (*Amaru*, a serpent, and *Cancha*, a place); and soon afterwards he discovered, buried in the *patio* or inner court, a large golden jar for brewing *chicha* in, weighing eight or nine arrobas (220 to 225 lbs.), and other gold and silver vases, the whole worth 80,000 ducats. He joined the faction of Gonzalo Pizarro, and was appointed his chief standard bearer; but Gonzalo's cruel old lieutenant, Carbajal, beheaded the unfortunate Altamirano at Lima, because he thought he discovered in him some signs of lukewarmness in the cause. He had a son Pedro, by an Indian lady, who was one of the Ynca's schoolfellows. One day this youth was riding a race down one of the streets of Cuzco, and saw a very pretty girl looking out of a window. This made him turn round on his horse to look back so often, that at last he fell off; but the horse immediately stopped, and waited for him to mount again.

because his father the Sun had pointed out his house as an unlucky place. I got into the closed room after the Spaniards rebuilt it, and after three years another bolt fell on the same room and destroyed it. The Indians, amongst other things, said that the Sun, having marked the place out as accursed, the Spaniards should not have rebuilt it, but should have left it as it was. If, as the above-mentioned historian asserts, they looked upon thunder-bolts as gods, it is clear that they would have adored this place as sacred and have built their most famous temples on it, saying that their Gods, the thunder, lightning, and bolts, desired to inhabit such places as they thus pointed out and consecrated themselves. All three, thunder, lightning, and bolts, are called *yllapa*, and, owing to the resemblance, they gave the same name to an arquebuss. The other names which are given to the thunder, and to the Sun in Trinity, are newly invented by the Spaniards.* In this particular, and in others of the same kind, the Spaniards have no proper authority for what they say, for there are no such words in the general language of the Indians of Peru, and even these new words are not well composed, and do not bear the signification they are intended to convey.

* Acosta is one of those historians whose absurd credulity is thus exposed by the Ynca. He says "The Devil had also introduced the Trinity into this idolatry, for the three statues of the Sun were called *Apu-ynti*, *Churi-ynti*, and *Yntip huauque*, which means the Father Sun, the son Sun, and the brother Sun; and in like manner they named the three statues of *Chuqui-ylla*, who is the god presiding over the region of the air, where it thunders, rains, and snows" (lib. v, cap. 27, p. 377).

Calancha tells us that these three idols of the sun were on a rock, overhanging lake Titicaca, facing the road between Juli and Pomata. *Cronica Moralizada* (Lima, 1653).

CHAPTER II.

THE YNCAS SOUGHT THE TRUE GOD OUR LORD.

Besides adoring the Sun as a visible god, to whom they offered sacrifices, and in whose honour they celebrated grand festivals (as we shall relate in another part), the kings Yncas and their *amautas*, who were philosophers, sought, by the light of nature for the true supreme God our Lord, who created heaven and earth, as we shall see further on by the arguments and phrases which some of them used touching the divine majesty. They called Him Pachacamac, a word composed of *pacha*, which means the universal world, and *camac*, the present participle of the verb *cama*, to animate, whence is derived the word *cama*, the soul.* Pachacamac therefore means He who gives animation to the universe, and in its full signification it may be translated—"He who does to the universe what the soul does to the body." Pedro de Cieza (cap. 72) says—"The name of this devil is intended to signify creator of the world, for *camac* means creator, and *pacha*, the world."† Being a Spaniard, he did not understand the language so well as I who am an Indian Ynca. They held this name in such veneration that they never used it without signs of great veneration, bowing the head and the whole body, raising the eyes to heaven, stooping to the ground, raising the hands and opening them, and kissing the air. These were the signs used by the Yncas and their vassals to express great reverence and veneration, and they observed them when they spoke of Pachacamac, worshipped the Sun, and reverenced the king, but on no other occasion. Those of the blood royal were approached

* *Camani*, I create; *Camac*, creating or creator.

† See page 252 of my translation of Cieza de Leon.

with some of these observances, and the other superiors, such as the caciques, with very different and much less formal ceremony. They held Pachacamac in much greater inward veneration than the Sun, for they did not even take the name of the former in their mouths, while they spoke of the latter on every occasion. When the Indians were asked who Pachacamac was, they replied that he it was who gave life to the universe, and supported it; but that they knew him not, for they had never seen him, and that for this reason they did not build temples to him, nor offer him sacrifices. But that they worshipped him in their hearts (that is mentally), and considered him to be an unknown God.* Agustin de Zarate (lib. ii, cap. 5), writing of what the Father Friar Vicente de Valverde said to the King Atahualpa, that Christ our Lord was the creator of the world, says that the Ynca replied that he knew nothing of that, and that nobody created anything except the Sun, whom he and his people held to be God, and that he held the earth to be his mother, and believed in his *huacas*, and that Pachacamac had made all things. From this it is clear that these Indians considered him to be the maker of all things.

It is true, what I am about to say, that the Indians sought out the truth with this name and gave it to our true God, as the devil testifies, though, as the father of lies, he mixed up a lie with the truth. For when he saw our holy evangel preached, and that the Indians were baptised, he said to certain familiars of his, in the valley now called Pachacamac (from the great temple which was erected there to this unknown God), that the God whom the Spaniards were

* Mr. Prescott suggests that the fact of the temple to Pachacamac, on the coast of Peru, having existed before that part of the country came under the sway of the Yncas, may indicate that the worship of this Great Spirit did not originate with the Peruvian princes. The fact that *Pachacamac* is purely a Quichua word alone suffices to prove that this idea is groundless.

preaching about and Pachacamac were all one. Pedro de Cieza de Leon tells us this in his *Account of Peru* (chapter 72),* and the Reverend Father Friar Geronimo Roman, in his *History of the Western Indies* (book i, chapter 5), says the same, both speaking of this same Pachacamac, although, from not knowing the correct meaning of the word, they applied it to the devil. But the devil, in saying that the God of the Christians and Pachacamac were one and the same, spoke the truth; for it was the intention of the Indians to give that name to the Most High, who gives life and existence to the universe, as the word itself signifies. But in saying that he was the Pachacamac the devil lied, for it was never the intention of the Indians to give him that name. They had no other name for the devil than *Supay*, and when they used that name they first spat on the ground, in sign of malediction and abomination. But they used the word *Pachacamac* with all the demonstrations of adoration which we have already mentioned. Nevertheless the enemy had so much power amongst these Indians that he made himself a God, mixing himself up in everything that the Indians venerated and held as sacred. He spoke in their oracles and temples, in the corners of their houses, and in other places, telling them that he was the Pachacamac, and that he was all the other things which the Indians looked upon as gods; and, on account of this deceit, they worshipped those things out of which the devil spoke to them, thinking that it was the god who spoke. But if they had known it was the devil, they would assuredly have burnt those things, as they now do, through the mercy of God who desired to receive them into his fold.†

The Indians do not understand how to give an account of these things, using their words with the proper meaning

* See my translation, p. 253.

† All this nonsense about the devil is evidently a concession to Spanish folly and bigotry.

and signification; seeing that the Christian Spaniards seemed to abominate all their words which referred to religion: neither did the Spaniards clearly explain themselves when they asked questions. Thus all the words were looked upon as diabolical, because the rules of the general language of the Yncas, for the derivation, composition, and proper interpretation of words were not understood. The Spaniards give another name for God in their histories, which is *Ticiviracocha*; but neither I nor they know what it means. The word Pachacamac, which the Spanish historians so abominate, not understanding the meaning of the word, is really that of God; although their abhorrence of it is not wholly without reason, because the devil spoke in that gorgeous temple, making himself appear as God under that name, which he adopted for his own.

But if any one should now ask me, who am a Catholic Christian Indian by the infinite mercy, what name was given to God in my language, I should say—*Pachacamac*. For in that general language of Peru there is no other word in which to name God save this; and all those that are given by historians are generally incorrect, for they are either corrupt or invented by the Spaniards. Some of the words newly composed by the missionaries incorrectly express the signification that has been given to them, such as *Pachayachachi*,* which is intended to convey the meaning of "maker of heaven." Its true meaning is "teacher of the world." But to give the word "maker" they should have said *Pacharurac*, for *Rurac*† is "to make;" yet the phrase is not correct. For in very truth it lowers the high and majestic place of God to which the name of *Pachacamac* raises it,

* *Yachani*, I know; *Yachacuni*, I learn; *Yachachini*, I teach; *Yacha-huasi*, a school. The particle *chi* means the act of making another do a thing. Thus *Yachani*, "I know;" *Yachachini*, "I make another know," that is, "I teach."

† *Rurani* (I make). Hence the participle *Rurac* (making); and in its substantive form "a maker."

and this latter is the true name of God. In order that what has been said may be fully understood, it must be known that the verb *yacha* signifies "to learn," and by adding the syllable *chi* it means "to teach." But the verb *rura* means "to make," and with the addition of *chi* it is "to cause a thing to be made." And the same particle causes the same change in the meaning of every other verb. As these Indians paid no attention to abstract speculations, but only to material things, so their verbs are not adapted to the teaching of spiritual things, nor to the expression of grand or divine works, but only to convey meanings used in human intercourse. But the word *Pachacamac* is far removed in meaning from this materialism, for, as has already been said, it signifies "He who does with the universe what the soul does with the body; which is the supplying of it with existence, life, growth, sustenance." From this the incorrectness of the names for God lately invented will be evident (if their literal signification is considered), owing to the baseness of their meaning. But it may be hoped that in time they will be more respected; and the composers of them should be careful not to change the meaning of the verb or noun in the compound word, in order that the Indians may not turn it into ridicule. This is especially important in the composition of words for teaching the Christian doctrine, which should be done with much care.

CHAPTER III.

THE YNCAS KEPT A ✠ IN A SACRED PLACE.

The Kings Yncas kept in Cuzco a cross of fine marble, of the white and red colour called crystalline jasper, and they know not from what time they have had it. I left it, in the year 1560, in the sacristy of the cathedral church of

that city, where it was hung to a nail by a cord passing through a hole made at the top of the upper end. I remember that the cord was a selvedge of black velvet, but in the time of the Indians it must have had a chain of silver or gold, which may have been exchanged for this selvedge by the man who first found it. The cross was square, that is, as long as broad, being three-quarters of a *vara* long, rather less than more, and three fingers deep; and almost the same in breadth. It was all of the same piece, very well carved, with corners carefully squared, and the stone brightly polished. The Yncas kept it in one of their royal houses, in a *huaca* or sacred place. They did not worship it, beyond holding it in veneration on account of the beauty of its form, or for some other reason which they could scarcely give expression to. Thus it was kept until the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro entered the valley of Tumpez; and, owing to what there happened to Pedro de Candia, they began to worship it and hold it in greater veneration, as we shall mention hereafter.*

The Spaniards, when they captured this imperial city, and made a temple to our Most High God, put this cross in the place I have mentioned without more ornament than has been related, though it might fitly have been hung over the high altar, richly adorned with gold and precious stones, of which they found so much. They taught the Indians our holy religion with their own things, comparing them with ours, such as this cross and other resemblances in their laws and ordinances, which are very closely allied to our natural law. Thus the commandments of our holy law and the works of mercy are very like the ordinances of this gentile people, as we shall see presently. With reference to the cross, we may add, as is notorious, that they are accustomed to swear to God on the cross in order to affirm what they say, both

* See a note at p. 194 of my translation of Cieza de Leon for an account of Pedro de Candia's adventure, referred to in the text.

before judgment and at other times; and many do it when there is no necessity for swearing, and solely from a bad habit; but neither the Yncas, nor any of the people in their dominions, ever swore or even knew what swearing was in former times. The veneration and respect with which they treated the names of Pachacamac and of the Sun have already been noticed, and they never used these words except to adore them. When they examined any witness, however serious the case might be, the judge said (instead of administering an oath) "Do you promise to say truth to the Ynca?" The witness answered "Yes, I promise." The judge then said—"Beware that you must speak without any mixture of falsehood, and without concealing anything that took place, and that you must relate all you know of this matter." The witness then repeated his declaration—"So I promise of a truth:" and they left him to relate all he knew of the affair, without interfering or saying "We did not ask you this, but this other." The witness was not usually guilty of falsehood, because these people, besides being very timid, and very religious in their idolatry, knew well that, if their falsehood was discovered, they would be very severely punished, frequently with death, if the offence was a grave one. This punishment was inflicted, not so much on account of the mischief that the falsehood might cause, as because the offender had lied to the Ynca, and disregarded the royal command, ordering that no lie should be told. The witness knew that to speak to any judge was to speak to the Ynca himself, whom they adored as God; and this was their chief reason for not telling lies.

After the Spaniards conquered that empire, a very serious murder took place in the province of the Quechuas. The Corregidor of Cuzco sent a judge there, to investigate the case. This judge, in taking the deposition of the Curaca or Lord of Vassals, placed him before the cross, and told him to swear to God and the cross that he would speak the

truth. The Indian replied that, as he was not baptised, he did not swear as the Christians swore. The judge then said that he must swear by his gods the sun, the moon, and the Yncas. The Curaca answered "We only use those names to worship them, and it is not lawful for me to swear by them." The judge inquired what evidence there would be of the truth of what the Curaca said, if he would not take any oath. "My promise will suffice," said the Curaca; "for I understand that I speak as it were before your king, seeing that you come to do justice in his name: for thus we felt in giving testimony before the officers of our Yncas. But, to give you the assurance you require, I will swear by the earth, declaring that it may open and swallow me up alive, as I stand, if I should tell a lie." The judge accepted this oath, seeing that he could get no other, and put the questions respecting the murderers, with a view to ascertaining who they were. The Curaca proceeded with his replies; but when he saw that they asked him nothing respecting the men who had been killed, and who had been the aggressors, he said he must relate all he knew of the transaction, because if he related one portion, and was silent about another, he should be guilty of lying, as he would not have spoken the whole truth according to his promise. Although the judge declared that it would suffice if he answered the questions that were put to him, he persisted in saying that he should not be keeping his promise unless he related all he knew. The judge took his deposition in the best way he could, and returned to Cuzco, where the conversation he had had with the Curaca caused much astonishment.

CHAPTER IV.

OF MANY GODS IMPROPERLY ATTRIBUTED TO THE INDIANS BY THE SPANISH HISTORIANS.

Returning to the idolatry of the Yncas, we assert more at large than we have done before, that they had no other gods than the sun, which they worshipped outwardly. To the sun they built temples, with walls lined above and below with plates of gold: to it they offered many things as sacrifices; to it they presented great gifts of gold and of all the most precious things they possessed, in acknowledgment of what it had done for them. They adjudicated the third part of all the cultivated land of the countries they conquered, and of the harvests, to be the property of the sun, besides innumerable flocks. They erected houses, carefully secluded, for women dedicated to his service, who preserved perpetual virginity.

Besides the sun they worshipped Pachacamac (as has been said) inwardly, as an unknown God. They held him in greater veneration than the sun. They did not offer sacrifices nor build temples to him; because they said that he was not known to them, never having allowed himself to be seen. In its proper place we shall speak of the famous and most wealthy temple in the valley called Pachacamac, dedicated to this unknown God.

Thus the Yncas did not worship more gods than the two we have named; one visible, the other invisible. For those princes and their *amautas*, who were the philosophers and doctors of their commonwealth, although they had no knowledge of letters (never having used them), understood that it was a very unworthy and degrading thing to impute honour, power, and divine virtue to the inferior things under heaven. So they established a law, and ordered it to

be obeyed, that it should be known throughout the whole empire that the worship should be given to Pachacamac as Supreme God and Lord alone, and to the sun for the good he did to all; the moon also being venerated and honoured because she was the wife and sister of the sun, and the stars as ladies and handmaids of her house and court.

Further on, in the proper place, we shall treat of the god Huira-ccocha, which was a phantom that appeared to a prince, the heir of the Yncas, saying that he was a child of the sun. The Spaniards refer many other gods to the Yncas, owing to their confusion of the first with the second age, and to their ignorance of the language, and consequent inability to obtain information from the Indians. This ignorance has been the cause of all the gods of the conquered countries being imputed to the Yncas. In particular, the mistake arose from the Spaniards not understanding the numerous different meanings of the word *huaca*.* When the last syllable is pronounced from the top of the palate, it means an idol, such as Jupiter, Mars, Venus, but it is a noun, which does not admit of a verb being formed from it, to signify worship. Besides this first and principal meaning, the word has many others, examples of which we shall now give, that the subject may be better understood. *Huaca* signifies a sacred thing, such as were all those in which the devil spoke. These were idols, rocks, and great stones or trees into which the enemy entered, to make the people think he was a god. They also applied the word *huaca* to things offered to the sun, such as figures of men, birds, and beasts made of gold, silver or wood, and other offerings, all of which they held to be sacred because the sun had received them and they were his. For this reason they were held in great veneration. They also give the name *huaca* to all temples, whether large or small, and to the sepulchres they

* This word appears to have had a meaning analogous to *taboo* amongst the South Sea Islanders, though not exactly similar.

made in the fields, also to the corners in their houses, where the devil spoke to their priests and to others who conversed with him familiarly. They held these corners to be sacred, and treated them as oratories or sanctuaries. They likewise applied the same name to all those things which, from their beauty and excellence, were superior to other things of a like kind, such as a rose, an apple, or a pippin which was better than any other on the same tree; or trees which were better than other trees of the same kind. On the other hand, they also gave the same *huaca* to things that were ugly and monstrous, or that caused horror and fright. Thus they called the great serpents of the Antis, which are twenty-five to thirty feet long, *huacas*. They also gave the name *huaca* to things which were out of the usual course of nature, such as a woman that has given birth to twins, on account of the strangeness of the birth. They took the woman out into the streets with much ceremony, crowned her with garlands, and danced and sang, in token of her great fruitfulness. Other nations took the matter in another way, and mourned, holding such births to be a bad omen. The same name was given to sheep that bore two at one birth. I speak of the sheep of that land* which, being large, usually only give birth to one at a time, like cows and mares. The twin lambs were held to be the most acceptable sacrifices, and were therefore called *huaca*, and for the same reason they call an egg with two yolks a *huaca*. The same name was given to children born feet first, or doubled up, or with six fingers or toes, or hump-backed, or with any other defect in the body or face, such as a hare lip, which is very common, or a squint. They also gave the name to very copious fountains, and to stones found in rivers or brooks when they are of unusual shape or colour.

They called the great chain of snowy mountains *huaca* for its length and height, which certainly are most wonderful to

* Llamas.

those who attentively reflect. They also gave the name to very high peaks, and to high towers, and to lofty passes met with on the roads, some of which are three, four, five, and six leagues in height, and almost as steep as a wall. The Spaniards, corrupting the word, call these passes *apachitas*, which the Indians worshipped and made offerings to. Of the passes we shall speak presently, as well as of the nature of the offerings. They called all these, and other similar things, *huacas*, not because they believe them to be gods or adored them; but because of their special superiority or peculiarity, and for this reason they treated them with veneration and respect. But, although these significations are so distinct, the Spaniards only understand the first and principal one, which is an idol, and they consequently believed that the Yncas worshipped as idols all the things they called *huacas*; as did the Indians of the first age.

With respect to the word *apachitas*, which the Spaniards apply to passes over the very high mountains; it must be known that the correct form is *apachecta*. It is the dative (the genitive being *apachecpa*) of the present participle *apachec*, which is the nominative. The syllable *ta* is the dative.* It means that which is raised, without saying what it is that is raised; but, in conformity with the idiom of the language, as we have before said, the Indians include much meaning in one word. By this word they intend to say—"We give thanks and make an offering to Him who enables us to raise this burden, giving us strength and vigour to ascend such rugged heights as these." They never used the word until they had reached the summit of the pass, and for this reason the Spanish historians say that they called the summits of the passes *apachitas*, because they were heard to say this word *apachecta*.† As the Spaniards did not know

* *Apani*, I carry; *Apachini*, I cause another to carry; *Apachec* would be the present participle.

† The phrase used by the Indians was *Apachecta muchani*, "I give

the meaning of the words used by the Indians, they gave this name to the passes. The Indians felt, by a natural light, that they ought to give thanks and make some offering to Pachacamac, the unknown God, whom they inwardly worshipped, for having aided them in this labour. Thus, as soon as they had ascended the pass, they unloaded themselves, and, with eyes raised to heaven and the same marks of adoration as I have mentioned that they showed when using the word Pachacamac, they repeated two or three times the dative *apachecta*, and in making an offering they pulled a hair out of their eyebrows, or took the herb called *cuca* from their mouths, as a gift of the most precious thing they had. Or, if there was nothing better, they offered a small stick or piece of straw, or even a piece of stone or earth. There were great heaps of those offerings at the summits of passes over the mountains. They did not look at the sun when they performed these ceremonies, because the worship was not offered to him, but to Pachacamac, and the offerings were intended more as tokens of their feelings than as offerings, for they well understood that such vile things were unfit for such a purpose. I am a witness to all this, as I have seen it on my journeys with the Indians many times, and I may add that they did not perform the ceremony when they were travelling without burdens, but only when they were laden. Now, in these times, through the mercy of God, crosses are placed on the tops of passes, which they worship in acknowledgment of the grace that has been conferred by our Lord Christ.

thanks that this has been carried." The custom described in the text, by the Ynca, is observed in Peru to this day; and a heap of stones may still be seen at the summit of every pass. These heaps are corruptly called by the Spaniards *pachetas*.

CHAPTER V

OF MANY OTHER MEANINGS OF THE WORD HUACA.

This same word *huaca*, when the last syllable is pronounced in the throat, becomes a verb, meaning "to mourn." Owing to this, two Spanish historians, who did not understand the difference, said—"The Indians enter their temples and perform their sacrifices, mourning and lamenting." *Huacca** has the latter meaning, and is very different from *huaca*, one word being a verb and the other a noun. But truly the difference in meaning depends entirely on different pronunciation, without change of letter or accent; for the last syllable of the latter is pronounced in the upper part of the palate, and of the former from the inside of the throat. The Spaniards pay no attention to the pronunciation of these words, nor of any others in the language, because they are different from the Spanish. This is shown from what occurred to me with a Dominican monk, who had been for four years professor of the general language of Peru. Knowing that I was a native of that land, he communicated with me, and I visited him many times in San Pablo de Cordova. One day it happened that we were speaking of that language, and of the many different meanings that the same word had. I mentioned, for example, the word *pacha*, which, when pronounced softly as the letters would sound in Spanish, means the universe, heaven, the earth, and ground. The friar replied that it also signified clothes, furniture, or apparel.† I answered "It is true; but tell me, Father, what difference there is in the pronunciation when it has the latter meaning?" He replied "I do not know." I then ex-

* *Huaccani*, I mourn.

† *Pachà*, the earth; *Ppacha*, clothes; *Paccha*, a fountain.

claimed "Are you a master of the language, and yet ignorant of this! Well, you must know that to mean apparel or clothes the first syllable must be pronounced by pressing the lips together, and breaking them open with the air of the mouth:" and I explained to him the pronunciation of this and other words *viva voce*, for it can be taught in no other way; at which the professor, and the other monks who were present at the discussion, were greatly astounded. From what I have said it will be fully seen how ignorant the Spaniards are of the details of this language; for even this monk, who was a professor of it, did not know them. Thus they write down many erroneous statements, such as that the Yncas and their vassals worshipped all the things they called *huacas* as gods, being ignorant of the various significations of that word. And this is enough of the idolatry and gods of the Yncas; in which idolatry, and also in that more ancient form, there is much to admire in these Indians, as well those of the second age as those of the first, in that, with so great a confusion of gods, they never worshipped pleasures and vices, like those of the ancient heathenry in the old world, who adored those confessedly guilty of adultery, murder, drunkenness, and lewdness. Yet the latter were people boasting much of their letters and learning, while the former were far from all good teaching.

The idol *Tangatanga*, which one author says they worshipped in Chuquisaca,* and declared of it that it was three in one and one in three, I have been able to find no notice of, nor is there such a word in the general language of Peru. It may be a word in the language of that province, which is 180 leagues from Cuzco. I suspect that the word is corrupt, because the Spaniards corrupt all the words they get into their mouths, and that it should be *acatanca*, which means

* Acosta, lib. v, cap. 27. The credulous Jesuit was told of this idol by a priest at Chuquisaca. Of course, the devil, who is always trying to imitate the mysteries of the church, invented the idol Tangatanga!

a scarabæus or black beetle. This word is composed of the noun *aca* (dung) and the verb *tanca** (the last syllable pronounced inside the throat), which means to push. *Acatanca*, therefore, means "he who pushes the dung."

I am not at all surprised that in Chuquisaca, in that first age of ancient heathenism, before the time of the Kings Yncas, they should have worshipped a beetle, because, in those days, they adored other things as vile, but not afterwards, because it was prohibited by the Yncas. When the Indians said that their god was one in three and three in one, it must have been a new invention of theirs, made after they had heard of the trinity and unity of our Lord God, to curry favour with the Spaniards, by saying that they had some things resembling our holy religion, like this trinity, and like the trinity which the same author says that they imputed to the sun and the lightning; also that they had confessors, and confessed their sins like Christians. All these things were invented by the Indians in the expectation that they might gain something by the resemblance. I affirm this as an Indian, and as knowing the nature of the Indians. And I also declare that they had no idols with the name of the Trinity, and that, though the general language of Peru sometimes comprehends three or four different things in one word, as lightning, thunder, and thunderbolts in the word *yllapa;* the hand and arm in the word *maqui;* and the thigh, leg, and foot in *chaqui*, besides many others; yet that they did not worship idols in the name of the Trinity, nor had they such a word in their language. If the devil had made them worship him under that name, I should not be surprised, for he could not do anything with infidel idolaters who were so far away from Christian truth.

I may add that the same word *chaqui*, with the first syllable pronounced from the top of the palate, becomes a verb

Tancani, I push.

meaning to be thirsty or dry, or to dry anything that is wet, which is another case of three meanings for one word.*

CHAPTER VI.

WHAT AN AUTHOR SAYS CONCERNING THEIR GODS.

In the papers of Father Blas Valera I found what follows, which I have taken the trouble to translate and insert in this place, because it is apposite to the point we have been discussing, and because of the value of the observations made by this authority. Speaking of the sacrifices which the Indians of Mexico offered up, and of those in other countries, and of the gods they worshipped, he says as follows:—

"One cannot explain in words, nor imagine without horror and dismay, how contrary to religion, terrible, cruel, and inhuman were the sacrifices which the Indians were accustomed to offer up in the time of their heathenry, nor the multitude of gods they had, insomuch that in the city of Mexico and its suburbs there were more than two thousand. The general name for their gods and idols was *Teutl*, though each one had a particular name. But that which Pedro Martyr, the Bishop of Chiapas, and others affirm, that the Indians of the island of Cuçumela, subject to the province of Yucatan, had for their God the sign of the cross, and that they worshipped it; and that the natives of Chiapa knew of the most Holy Trinity and of the incarnation of our Lord; these were interpretations which those authors and other Spaniards invented out of their imaginations, and then applied to those mysteries. In the same way, in their histories of Cuzco, they referred the three statues of the sun to a belief in the Trinity, as well as those to thunder, lightning, and thunderbolts. If in this our day, after having re-

* *Chaqui*, a foot; *Chhaqui*, dry; *Chhaquincuni*, I am thirsty.

ceived so much instruction from priests and bishops, these barbarians scarcely know yet whether there be any Holy Ghost,—how could they, while in such thick darkness, have so clear an idea of the mysteries of the Incarnation and of the Trinity? The method that our Spaniards adopted in writing their histories was to ask the Indians, in Spanish, touching the things they wanted to find out from them. These, from not having a clear knowledge of ancient things, or from bad memories, told them wrong, or mixed up poetical fables with their replies. And the worst of it was. that neither party had more than a very imperfect knowledge of the language of the other, so as to understand the inquiry, and to reply to it. This arose from the great difficulty there is to understand the Indian language, and from the slight knowledge the Indians then had of Spanish. Thus the Indian understood little of what the Spaniard said in his questions, and the Spaniard comprehended still less of the Indian's reply. So that very often the Spaniard and the Indian both understood the opposite of what they had said to each other: still oftener they arrived at some approach to what had been said, but not at the exact meaning. In this great confusion, the priest or layman who asked the questions placed the meaning to them which was nearest to the desired answer, or which was most like what the Indian was understood to have said. Thus they interpreted according to their pleasure or prejudice, and wrote things down as truths which the Indians never dreamt of. For no mystery of our holy Christian religion can really be taken from their true histories. Nevertheless there can be no doubt that the devil, in his great pride, obtained worship for himself as God, not only in the rites and ceremonies of the heathens, but even in some customs of the Christian religion. He has introduced these rites (like an envious monkey) in many regions of the Indies, so that he may be more honoured amongst those miserable men. Thus, in one country, oral

confession was practised, to free men from their sins; in another the washing of the heads of children; in another very severe fasts were kept. In other districts they suffered death for their religion's sake: so that, as in the Old World, the faithful Christians offered themselves as martyrs for the Catholic faith, so in the New World the heathens offered themselves to death for the sake of the accursed devil. But the assertion that *Icona* is their word for God the Father, and *Bacab* for God the Son, and *Estruac* for God the Holy Ghost; and that *Chiripia* is the most holy Virgin Mary, and *Ischen* the blessed St. Anne, and that *Bacab* killed by *Eopuco* represents Christ our Lord crucified by Pilate: all these and similar things are inventions and fictions of Spaniards, and the natives are entirely ignorant of them. The truth is that the above were the names of men and women whom the natives of that land worshipped as gods and goddesses. Some of these, which were very filthy, were looked upon as the gods of the vices: such as *Tlasolteutl*, god of lust; *Ometochtli*, god of drunkenness; *Vitsilopuchtli*, god of murder. *Icona* was the father of all these gods. It is said that he begot them on certain concubines; and he was looked upon as the god of the fathers of families. *Bacab* was the god of the sons of families; *Estruac* was god of the air; *Chiripia* was the mother of the gods, and the earth itself. *Ischen* was the nurse of the gods. *Tlaloc* god of the waters. Other gods were worshipped as the authors of moral virtues. Such was *Quesalcoatl*, the aerial god and reformer of manners. Others were venerated as the patrons of human life in its various stages. They had innumerable figures and images of their false gods for various uses and purposes. Many of them were very filthy. Some gods were in common, others special. They had annual rotations, and they were changed each year in accordance with their superstitions. The old gods were forsaken as infamous, or because they had been of no

use, and other gods and demons were elected. Other imaginary gods were believed to preside and rule the ages of children, young people, and the aged. Sons when they inherited, either accepted or repudiated the gods of their fathers, for they were not allowed to hold their pre-eminence against the will of the heir. Old men worshipped other greater deities, but they likewise dethroned them, and set up others in their places when the year was over, or the age of the world, as the Indians had it. Such were the gods which all the natives of Mexico, Chiapa, and Guatemala worshipped, as well as those of Vera Paz, and many other Indians. They thought that the gods selected by themselves were the greatest and most powerful of all the gods. All the gods that were worshipped, when the Spaniards first arrived in that land, were made and set up after the renewing of the sun in the last age; and, according to Gomara, each sun of these people contains 860 years, though, according to the account of the Mexicans themselves, it was much less. This method of counting the age of the world by suns was a common usage among the people of Mexico and Peru, and, according to their account, the years of the last sun were reckoned from the year 1403 of our Lord's era. Thus there can be no doubt that the ancient gods, which were worshipped by the natives of the empire of Mexico in the sun before the last, must have perished in the sea, and that they invented many other gods in their place. From this it must be manifest that the interpretation by which *Icona*, *Barac*, and *Estruac* are made to signify the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost is false.

"All the other people inhabiting the northern parts, corresponding to the northern regions of the Old World, such as the provinces of the great Florida, and all the islands, did not have idols nor conjuring gods. They only worshipped what Varro calls natural gods, such as the elements, the sea, lakes, rivers, springs, forests, wild beasts, serpents, corn, and

other things of this class. This custom had its beginning and origin amongst the Chaldees, whence it spread over many and divers nations. Those who ate human flesh occupied the whole empire of Mexico, all the islands, and most of the countries bordering on Peru. They kept up the custom in the most bestial way, until they were brought under the rule of the Yncas, or of the Spaniards."

All this is from Blas Valera. In another part he says that "the Yncas did not worship anything but the sun and the planets," and that "in this they imitated the Chaldees."

CHAPTER VII.

THEY KNEW OF THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL, AND OF THE GENERAL RESURRECTION.

The Amautas held that man was composed of a body and a soul, that the soul was immortal, and that the body was made of earth, for they saw that it was turned into earth. So they called it *allpacamasca*, which means "animated earth."* But to distinguish it from the body of brutes, they added *runa*, which means a reasoning and intelligent man, while the brutes are called *llama*. They allowed to the brutes what is called a vegetative and sensitive mind, because they saw them grow and that they could feel, but they did not think the brutes had reason. They believed that there would be another existence after this, with punishment for the bad and rest for the good. They divided the universe into three worlds, calling heaven *hanan pacha*, which means the upper earth, where they said that the good went to be rewarded for their virtues; this world of birth and dissolution *hurin pacha*, or the lower earth, and the centre of the earth *ucu-pacha*, which means the lowest earth, where

* *Allpa*, earth; *camasca*, created, from *camani*, I create.

they said that the wicked were sent; and to describe it more clearly they gave it another name—*supaypa-huasin*. This word means "the house of the devil." They did not understand that the future life was spiritual, but believed it to be corporeal like this one. They held that the rest of the upper world consisted in a quiet life, free from the toil and care in which this life is passed; and that the life of the lowest world, which we call hell, was full of all manner of infirmities and sorrows, care and toil, and that there will be suffering without cessation, nor any comfort whatever, in that place. Thus they divided this present life into two parts for a future state, giving all the joy, rest, and pleasure of it to those who had been virtuous, and all the sorrow and trouble to those who had led evil lives. They did not include carnal delights nor other vices among the enjoyments of the other life, but only the rest of the mind with total absence of care, and the rest of the body without bodily labour.

The Yncas also believed in a universal resurrection, not for glory or punishment, but for a renewal of this temporal life; for their understanding did not rise above the actual state of existence. They took extreme care to preserve the nail-parings and the hairs that were shorn off or torn out with a comb; placing them in holes or niches in the walls, and if they fell out, any other Indian that saw them picked them up and put them in their places again. I very often asked different Indians, at various times, why they did this, in order to see what they would say, and they all replied in the same words, saying—"Know that all persons who are born must return to life" (they have no word to express resuscitation), "and the souls must rise out of their tombs with all that belonged to their bodies. We, therefore, in order that we may not have to search for our hair and nails at a time when there will be much hurry and confusion, place them in one place, that they may be brought together more conveniently; and, whenever it is possible, we are also careful to spit in one place."

Francisco Lopez de Gomara (cap. 126), speaking of the mode of interring the kings and great lords of Peru, writes the following passage, which is here quoted word for word. "When the Spaniards opened these tombs and scattered the bones, the Indians entreated that they would desist, because the dead were waiting there to rise again; for they believe in the resurrection of the dead and the immortality of the soul, etc." This makes clear what we have been saying; for though the author wrote in Spain, without ever having been in the Indies, he received the same account. The accountant Agustin de Zarate (lib. i, cap. 12) repeats almost the same words in treating of this subject, and Pedro de Cieza (cap. 62) says that "the Indians held the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of bodies." I read Gomara and these other authorities after I had written on the subject of what my relations believed in the time of their heathenry, but I hesitated much because I feared that a statement so far from paganism as that there was a belief in a resurrection would seem to be an invention of my own, no Spaniard having mentioned it. I declare, therefore, that I met with these passages after I had written on the subject, that it may be understood that I have followed the Spaniards in nothing, except when I find that they confirm what I have heard from my relations touching their ancient traditions. The same thing happened touching their law against sacrilege and adultery with the women of the Ynca or of the Sun (as we shall see farther on); for, after I had written on the subject, I happened to read the same account in the history of the accountant-general Agustin de Zarate, which gave me much satisfaction. How and through what tradition the Yncas received the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, which is an article of the faith, I cannot tell, nor is it for a soldier like myself to inquire. I believe that it can never be known with certainty until the most high God is pleased to reveal it. I can affirm with truth that they hold that

belief. All this account I have written in my history of Florida, taking it from its proper place by order of the venerable fathers of the Holy Company of Jesus, Miguel Vazquez de Padilla, a native of Seville, and Geronimo de Prado, a native of Ubeda, who ordered me to do so; and it was done reluctantly and by reason of certain tyrannical acts. I now insert it again in the proper place, that the edifice may not want so important a stone. And so we shall proceed to place others, for all the childish superstitions of these Indians cannot be written down in one passage: such as that the soul leaves the body while it is sleeping. They asserted that the soul could not sleep, and that the things we dream are what the soul sees in the world while the body sleeps. Owing to this vain belief, they paid much attention to dreams, and their interpretation, saying that they were signs and omens which presaged either much evil or much good.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE THINGS THAT THEY SACRIFICED TO THE SUN.

The sacrifices which the Yncas offered to the sun consisted of many different things, such as domestic animals, large and small. The principal and most esteemed sacrifice was that of lambs; next to which came that of sheep, then that of barren ewes. They also sacrificed rabbits, and all birds used for food, all the pulses and cereals, the herb *cuca*, and the finest cloths. They burnt these things as a thank-offering to the sun, for having created them for the support of man. They also offered up large quantities of the beverage they drink, made of water and maize. At their ordinary meals, when they brought this liquor to drink, after they had finished eating (for while they were eating they

never drank), they dipped the point of the middle finger into the bowl, and, gazing attentively at the sky, they filliped off the drop of liquor which adhered to the tip of the finger, thus offering it to the Sun, in gratitude for the grant of this liquor. At the same time they kissed the air two or three times, which, as we have already said, was a token of adoration amongst these Indians. Having performed these ceremonies with the first cups, they drink the rest without more ado.

I saw this ceremony or idolatrous practice performed by unbaptised Indians, for in my time there were still many old Indians waiting for baptism, and, from necessity, I myself baptised some. Thus the Yncas were almost exactly like the Indians of the first age in their sacrifices. The only difference was that they did not sacrifice human flesh or blood, but abominated and prohibited the practice of sacrificing, as well as of eating it; and if some historians have written otherwise, it was because their informants deceived them, through not distinguishing between distinct periods and different provinces. In some countries they did make sacrifices of men, women, and children. Thus a historian, writing of the Yncas, says that they sacrificed men; and he mentions two provinces where he says that they offered up these sacrifices, one of which is little under a hundred leagues from Cuzco (the city where the Yncas made their sacrifices), and the other is one of two provinces with the same name, one of which is two hundred leagues to the south of Cuzco, and the other more than four hundred leagues to the north. From this it is clear that, from not distinguishing the period and locality, they often attribute many things to the Yncas which they prohibited to those who were subject to their dominion, but who practised them in that first age, before the time of the Kings Yncas.

I am a witness to having heard my father and his contemporaries frequently compare the states of Mexico and Peru;

and in speaking of these sacrifices of men, and of the practice of eating human flesh, they praised the Yncas of Peru because they neither practised nor permitted such acts, while they execrated the Mexicans for doing both the one and the other in the city, in so diabolical a fashion, as is related in the history of the conquest. And it is confidently asserted, though kept a secret at the time, that the writer of the history was also the conqueror. I believe this, because, both in my native land and in Spain, I have heard worthy knights speak of it with much confidence. Indeed the work itself proves this to any one who studies it carefully; and it is to be regretted that his name should not be published with it, that it might possess greater authority, and that the author might thus more completely imitate the great Julius Cæsar.

Returning to the sacrifices, I affirm that the Yncas neither practised nor consented to the offering up of men or children, even during the sickness of their kings (as another historian asserts), because they did not look upon sickness as an evil, as did the baser sort of people. They considered illnesses to be messengers from their father the Sun, which he sent to call his son to come and rest with him in heaven. Thus the usual phrase in use among these Kings Yncas, at the approach of death, was—"My father calls me to come and rest with him." And in evidence of the vain belief of the Indians respecting the Sun and his children, they would not act in opposition to his supposed will by offering sacrifices when they were ill, but openly declared that he had called them to his rest. This is sufficient proof that they did not sacrifice human beings; and further on I shall relate more fully what their usual sacrifices were, and describe their solemn festivals in honour of the Sun.

On entering the temples, or when they were already within them, they put their hands to their eyebrows as if they would pull out the hairs, and then made a motion as if

they were blowing them towards the idol, in token of adoration, and as an offering. The king only performed this ceremony to the idols, trees, or other things where the devil entered to speak with these peoples. The priests and witches did the same; when they entered the corners and secret places where they conversed with the devil; for they believed that this custom was pleasing to their deity, and that he would hear and answer their prayers, because they thus offered to him their persons. I affirm also that I saw this idolatrous custom practised.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE PRIESTS, RITES, AND CEREMONIES, AND OF THE LAWS ATTRIBUTED TO THE FIRST YNCA.

They had priests to offer the sacrifices. The priests of the House of the Sun at Cuzco were all Yncas of the blood royal, and all those who performed other services in the temple were Yncas by grant. They had a high priest, who was an uncle or brother of the king, or at least a legitimate member of the royal family. The priests did not use any peculiar vestments, but wore their usual dress. In the other provinces, where there were temples of the Sun, which were numerous, the natives were the priests, being relations of the local chiefs. But the principal priest (or bishop) in each province was an Ynca, who took care that the sacrifices and ceremonies should be in conformity with those of the metropolitan. For in all the chief offices, whether of peace or war, an Ynca was placed as chief, the natives being in office under him. They also had many houses of virgins, some observing perpetual virginity without ever going abroad, and others being concubines of the king, of whom I

shall speak more fully further on, touching upon their rank, their seclusion, their duties, and their devotions.

It must be known that whenever the Kings Yncas established a new law, whether a sacred one relating to their vain religion, or a secular one having reference to temporal government, they always attributed it to the first Ynca, Manco Ccapac, saying that he had ordained all laws, some of which he had left in force, and others merely sketched out, so that his future descendants might institute them in due time. For as they declared that the first Ynca was a child of the Sun, come from heaven to rule over and give laws to the Indians, they concluded that his father had taught him the laws which he was to institute for the common benefit of mankind, and the sacrifices that were to be offered in the temples. They insisted upon this fable, in order to give authority to all that they might command and ordain; and for this reason it cannot be stated with certainty which Ynca it was that instituted any given law. As they were without letters, they wanted also many things which are preserved for posterity by their means. It is certain, however, that the Yncas made the laws and ordinances by which the people were governed, establishing new ones, and reforming other old ones, according to the requirements of the times. One of their kings, as we shall see when we come to his life, was looked upon as a great legislator because he made many new laws, and revised all the existing ones. He was also held to be a great priest, owing to his having ordained many rites and ceremonies in the sacrifices, and endowed many temples with great riches; and a great captain because he annexed many kingdoms and provinces. But they do not tell us exactly what laws he instituted or what sacrifices he ordained; and they, for want of more precise knowledge, attributed the laws, as well as the origin of the empire, to the first Ynca.

Following this order, we will state here what was the

first law, on which the whole government of this state was founded. Having done this, and related some other things, we shall then record the conquests achieved by each king, and, while relating their deeds and the occurrences of their lives, we shall, from time to time, mention other laws and many of their customs and modes of sacrifice, and describe the temples of the Sun, the houses of virgins, their principal festivals, the ceremony of arming knights, the service of their houses, and the grandeur of the court, in order that the variety of matters may cause their perusal to be less tiring. But first it is convenient that I should collate what has already been said with the way in which the same subjects have been treated by the Spanish historians.

CHAPTER X.

THE AUTHOR COLLATES HIS OWN STATEMENTS WITH THOSE OF THE SPANISH HISTORIANS.

In order that it might be seen that what I have already said touching the origin of the Yncas, and the state of affairs before their time, is not an invention of my own, but that it is taken from the common reports furnished to the Spanish historians by the Indians, it seemed to me to be desirable that I should insert one of the chapters which Pedro de Cieza de Leon, a native of Seville, writes in the first part of his *Chronicle of Peru*, which treats of the boundaries of provinces, the description of them, the foundation of new cities, the rites and ceremonies of the Indians, and other things. The above words are given by this author, as the title of his work. He wrote in Peru; and that he might be able to write with greater accuracy, as he himself says, he travelled over a distance of 1200 leagues, from the port of Uraba to the town of La Plata. In each province he wrote

the account he obtained of the customs of the natives, dividing his narrative into proper periods? He relates the condition of each nation before it came under the sway of the Yncas, and also what happened after that event. He was occupied for nine years in collecting and writing down the accounts he received from the natives, from the year 1541 to 1550: and having related what he observed between Uraba and Pasto, he sets apart a special chapter (the thirty-eighth) before crossing the frontier of the ancient empire of the Yncas, in which he writes as follows:*—

"As I shall often have to treat of the Yncas, and give an account of many of their buildings, and of other notable things, it appears to me to be appropriate that I should say something concerning them in this place, that readers may know who these Yncas were, and not misunderstand their importance, or fall into mistakes about them. I, however, have written a special book upon them and their deeds, which is very copious.

"From the accounts which the Indians of Cuzco have given us, we gather that, in ancient times, there were great disorders in all the provinces of that kingdom which we now call Peru, and that the natives were so savage and stupid as to be beyond belief; for they say that these early tribes were bestial, and that many ate human flesh, others taking their mothers and daughters for their wives. Besides all this, they committed other greater sins, having much intercourse with the devil, whom they all served and held in high estimation. They had their castles and forts in the mountain fastnesses, and, on very slight provocation, they made war upon each other, killing and taking prisoners without mercy. Notwithstanding that they committed all these crimes and worked wickedness, they are said to have been given to religion, which is the reason why, in many parts of this kingdom, great temples have been found

* See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 136.

where they prayed to, adored, and had interviews with the devil, making great sacrifices before their idols. The people of this kingdom lived in this manner, and great tyrants rose up in the provinces of Collas, in the valleys of the Yuncas, and in other parts, who made fierce wars upon each other, and committed many robberies and murders; insomuch that they caused great calamities, and many castles were destroyed, while the devil, the enemy of human nature, rejoiced that so many souls should be lost.

"While all the provinces of Peru were in this state, two brothers rose up, the name of one of whom was Manco Ccapac. The Indians relate great marvels and very pleasant fables respecting these men, which may be read by any one who pleases, when the book written by me on the subject sees the light. This Manco Ccapac founded the city of Cuzco, and established laws for the use of the people. He and his descendants were called Yncas, a word which signifies lords or kings. They conquered and dominated over all the country, from Pasto to Chile, and their banners were carried to the south as far as the river Maule, and north to the Ancasmayu. These rivers were the boundaries of the empire of these Yncas, which was so great, that from one end to the other is a distance of one thousand three hundred leagues. The Yncas built great fortresses, and in every province they had their captains and governors. They performed such great deeds, and ruled with such wisdom, that few in the world ever excelled them. They were very intelligent and learned without having letters, which had not been invented in these Indies. They introduced good customs into all the conquered provinces, and gave orders that the people should wear *usutas* in the place of leathern sandals. They thought much of the immortality of the soul, and of other secrets of nature. They believed that there was a Creator of all things, and they held the sun to be a god, to whom they built great temples; but,

deceived by the devil, they worshipped among trees and on stones, like heathens. In the principal temples they kept a great quantity of very beautiful virgins, just as was done in the temple of Vesta at Rome, and the rules concerning them were almost the same. They chose the bravest and most faithful captains they could find to command their armies. They were very astute and artful in turning enemies into friends without having resort to war, but they chastised rebels with severity and cruelty. But, as I have already said, I have a book concerning the Yncas, so that what I have now written will suffice to enable those who may read it to understand who these kings were, and their great power, and I will therefore return to my road."

All this is contained in the thirty-eighth chapter, and it will be seen that his account is substantially the same as my own, both in the former chapters and in those further on, where I shall describe very fully the idolatry, conquests, and government in peace and war of these Kings Yncas. Cieza de Leon continues to dwell on the same subjects in the following eighty-three chapters of his work on Peru, and he always speaks in praise of the Yncas. In the provinces where he relates that they sacrificed men, ate human flesh, went naked, were ignorant of any mode of cultivating the ground, and worshipped vile and filthy things,—he always adds that, with the dominion of the Yncas, they abandoned these evil customs, and learnt those of their conquerors. Also, in speaking of many other provinces which still practised these bad customs, he says that the government of the Yncas had not yet extended so far. Treating of the Indians in such provinces as did not practise these barbarous customs, but had attained some degree of civilisation, he says that these Indians had been improved by the rule of the Yncas. Thus he always gives the honour of having abolished abuses and introduced good laws to the Yncas, as we also shall allege in the proper places, occasionally repeating his

very words. The reader who may desire to see them more at large should read his work; where he will find much devilry in the customs of the Indians. It would not be in the imagination of man to conceive things so horrible; but, seeing that the devil was the author of them, there is nothing in them to astonish, seeing that he taught the same things to the ancient heathens, and even now continues to teach them to those who have not received the light of the Catholic faith.

Throughout the whole of his history, Pedro de Cieza, although he says that the Yncas and their priests conversed with the devil, and were guilty of other very superstitious practices, never affirms that they sacrificed men or children;* except, in speaking of a temple near Cuzco, when he alleges that they offered up human blood there, making it up into a loaf or cake. This was done by bleeding between the eyebrows, as we shall explain in its place, but not by the death of children or men. He conversed, as he tells us, with many Curacas who knew Huayna Ccapac, the last of the Kings Yncas, from whom he received many of the accounts which he has recorded. These reports (given more than fifty years ago) are different from those of the present day, because they were more fresh, and given when the narrators were nearer to the period in question. All this has been written against the opinion that the Yncas sacrificed men and cdildren, for it is certain that they did no such thing. There are those who would say that this is of no consequence, for that the crime of idolatry includes all others. But a thing so inhuman as this ought not to be asserted of any people without very certain proof. Father Blas Valera, speaking of the antiquities of Peru, and of the

* Cieza de Leon states that human blood of persons whom they had killed was offered up to the idol at Pachacamac; but he also tells us that this was *before* the conquest of Pachacamac by the Yncas (chap. lxxii, p. 251).

sacrifices that the Yncas offered to the Sun, whom they looked upon as their father, writes the following passage, which is here copied out word for word. "In whose honour his successors offered great sacrifices to the Sun, of sheep and other animals, but never of men, as Polo,* and those who follow him, falsely assert."†

* The Licentiate Polo de Ondegardo was in Peru when Gasca defeated Gonzalo Pizarro. He was Corregidor of Cuzco, and wrote two *Relaciones*, dated 1561 and 1570, on the subject of the government and civilisation of the Yncas. The original MSS. are in the Escurial, but there is a copy at Simancas, and another was made for Lord Kingsborough, which afterwards became the property of Mr. Prescott.

† The Yncas did not offer up human sacrifices. The authority of Garcilasso de la Vega and of Blas Valera is clear and distinct upon this point, and must outweigh all the malicious or ignorant tales of Spanish historians; especially as Cieza de Leon, the best and most reliable Spanish authority, nowhere asserts that human sacrifices formed part of the religious practice of the Yncarial worship. Valverde, also, the fanatical Bishop of Cuzco, distinctly asserts that the Yncas did not offer up human sacrifices.

Mr. Prescott decides this question in favour of the other Spanish writers, who, of course, with their superstitious credulity, violent prejudices against the religion of the Yncas, and ignorance of the language, are very unreliable on such a point, and against the Ynca. He quotes, in favour of the truth of the accusation that human sacrifices were offered up, Sarmiento, Ondegardo, Balboa, Montesinos, Cieza de Leon, Acosta. Sarmiento and Ondegardo are in manuscript, and I have not had the advantage of examining them, but we are told by Mr. Prescott that the former writer cannot be vindicated from the superstition which belongs to his time. Balboa and Montesinos are authors who wrote long after the conquest, their information was got at second-hand, and their authority carries no weight with it. It has already been seen (see note at p. 138) that Cieza de Leon refers to the practices at Pachacamac, before that part of the country came under the sway of the Yncas. Acosta certainly makes the accusation boldly and unreservedly enough. He says—"In many nations they killed the persons who were most agreeable to their friends, to accompany them when dead. Besides doing so on these occasions, they were accustomed, in Peru, to sacrifice children from four to ten years of age when the Ynca was sick, to restore him to health, and also when he went to war, to secure victory. And when they gave the fringe, the insignia of royalty, to the new Ynca, they sacrificed two hundred boys, from four to ten years of age, a cruel and

That which I have said touching the tradition that the first Ynca came from the lake of Titicaca, is also related by

inhuman spectacle. The mode of sacrifice was to strangle the victims and bury them with certain ceremonies. At other times they beheaded them, anointing their own faces with the blood, from ear to ear. They also sacrificed maidens, from amongst those whom the Yncas brought from the convents. One abuse of this kind was very general amongst them. When any principal Indian, or even a common person, was sick, and the soothsayer said that he must certainly die, they sacrificed his son to Viracocha or to the sun, saying that the God must be satisfied with him, and must not take the life of the father."

He then compares all these tales with the practices of the kings of Moab, mentioned in Scripture, and winds up with the following sapient reflection—"Hence may be seen the malice and tyranny of the devil, who has desired to exceed God in this matter, enjoying worship by the shedding of human blood, and thus securing the perdition of men, both in body and soul, through the rabid hatred he feels for them, as their so cruel adversary" (lib. v, cap. 19).

Whether the credulous Jesuit confused the practices of other Indian tribes with those of the Yncas, or whether the above stories were pure inventions of his own brain, is perhaps doubtful. Most probably his narrative is a mixture of both; but his authority cannot for a moment be held to outweigh that of Blas Valera, Garcilasso de la Vega, Cieza de Leon, and Valverde.

Mr. Prescott allows himself to accept Spanish testimony in preference to that of the Ynca, on this point, although, as has been seen, even the Spaniards are by no means unanimous on the subject; but he is very far from accepting Acosta's statements to their full extent. He says—"Sometimes human beings were sacrificed, on which occasions a child or beautiful maiden was usually selected as a victim. But such sacrifices were rare, being reserved to celebrate some great public event. They were never followed by those cannibal repasts familiar to the Mexicans, and to many of the fierce tribes conquered by the Yncas. Indeed, the conquests of these princes might well be deemed a blessing to the Indian nations, if it were only for their suppression of cannibalism, and the diminution, under their rule, of human sacrifices" (i, p. 97).

The Peruvian, Don Mariano Rivero, also prefers the authority of the Spanish historians to that of the Ynca, adding Benzoni to Mr. Prescott's list of authorities, besides some others who wrote at second-hand; but I can find nothing in Benzoni to justify the reference. So again Rivero's reference to the nineteenth chapter of Cieza de Leon, in proof of human sacrifices amongst the Yncas, is quite unjustifiable. That chapter treats exclusively of the customs of the Indians of Paucora, in New Granada, and never once mentions the Yncas. Rivero, on the strength of these

Francisco Lopez de Gomara in his *General History of the Indies* (cap. 120), where he speaks of the lineage of that

false quotations, says "Against so many proofs the testimony of Garcilasso is of no value, notwithstanding the pains he takes to exculpate his ancestors from all suspicion on this point." He then goes on to improve upon the fables of Acosta, saying "it was no unusual thing to sacrifice two hundred at one time." (*Antiguedades Peruanas.*)

Mr. Helps, although he "fears the balance of evidence is clearly in favour of the statement that human sacrifices, at least of children, were not unknown, or had not, at some times and in some places, been unknown amongst the Peruvians," rebukes the hasty conclusion of Rivero. "We should pause and ponder much," he says, "before we take away the character of a great people on such an important point as that of human sacrifice."

The question may thus be summed up. We may leave out of the discussion such writers as Gomara and Herrera, who were never in the Indies, or as Montesinos, who wrote long after the conquest. It may be admitted also that human sacrifices took place amongst many of the tribes conquered by the Yncas, possibly even after their subjugation. For instance, Cieza de Leon mentions such an event as having taken place at Xauxa. The early writers were fanatically hostile to the religion of the Yncas, were ignorant of or imperfectly acquainted with the language, and did not make the necessary distinctions between the Ynca Indians and the tribes they had recently subjugated. Under such circumstances they might easily be led to state that the Yncas sacrificed human beings, from having heard of such sacrifices in districts within the limits of their empire, without being conscious of deception. Thus the allegations of Ondegardo, Sarmiento, and Acosta may be accounted for.

On the other hand we have the evidence of Cieza de Leon, undoubtedly the most trustworthy Spanish authority; of the fanatical monk Valverde, who certainly would not willingly say anything in favour of the Indians; of the learned and painstaking missionary Blas Valera; and, above all, of the Ynca Garcilasso de la Vega, who alone conversed with the Yncas as one of themselves, and learnt their language from an Ynca princess—his mother; that the Yncas did not offer up human sacrifices.

It is with great diffidence that I venture to differ from such authorities as Mr. Prescott and Mr. Helps, but I am unable to entertain any doubt that the weight of evidence is in favour of the Yncas on this point, and against their superstitious and half-informed accusers. This I firmly believe; but at the same time the perpetration of a human sacrifice, on very rare occasions, would not in itself lower the Yncas very materially in the scale of civilised nations. It is not worse than

Atahualpa whom the Spaniards captured and killed. Agustin de Zarate, also, who was accountant-general of his majesty's revenue, says, in his *History of Peru* (book i, cap. 13), that the most venerable father José de Acosta, of the holy Company of Jesus, asserts the same thing in the famous book which he composed on the natural and moral philosophy of the new world (book i, cap. 25). In this book he very frequently speaks in praise of the Yncas, so that I do not write new things, but, as a native Indian of that land, I amplify and correct that which the Spanish historians, being strangers, have incorrectly or briefly related, owing to their ignorance of the language, and to not having sucked in this knowledge with their mother's milk, as I have done. I now go on to describe the order prescribed by the Yncas in the government of their empire.

CHAPTER XI.

THEY DIVIDED THE EMPIRE INTO FOUR DISTRICTS, AND REGISTERED THEIR VASSALS.

The Kings Yncas divided their empire into four parts, which they called *Ttahuantin-suyu.* The word signifies "the four quarters of the world," corresponding to the four cardinal points of the heaven—east, west, north, and south. They placed the city of Cuzco in the centre, for in the peculiar language of the Yncas this word means the navel of the earth. This meaning is very appropriate, for the whole of Peru is long and narrow, like a human body, and the city is almost in the middle. They called the eastern

putting hundreds of men and women to a death of frightful suffering for a presumed erroneous belief, quite independent of the will, as was the frequent practice of their cruel conquerors; nor is it so barbarous, inhuman, and cowardly as the killing of witches, which took place in Germany as late as 1749; or as burning women to death, which was a practice amongst the English until 1763 A.D.

division *Anti-suyu*, from a province called Anti, which is to the eastward; and for the same reason they called the whole of that great cordillera of snowy mountains which runs along the eastern side of Peru *Anti*, to indicate that it is to the eastward. They called the western division *Cunti-suyu*, from another very small province called Cunti. The northern part was known as *Chincha-suyu*, from a great province called Chincha to the northward of the city; and the southern province was *Colla-suyu*, so named from a very large country called Colla, which is in the south. By these four names was understood the territories in those directions, although the empire extended many leagues beyond the limits of the districts formerly so called. For instance, Chile, which is more than six hundred leagues beyond the province of Colla, was within the Colla-suyu division; and the kingdom of Quitu belonged to the division of *Chincha-suyu*, although it is more than four hundred leagues to the north of Chincha. So that in point of fact the use of one of these divisions in a discourse was the same as saying to the east or west; and the four high roads issuing from the city were also so called, because they led to the four divisions of the empire.

As the fundamental principle of their government, the Yncas ordained a law by which it seemed to them that they would prevent all the evils that might have a tendency to arise in their empire. They ordered that, in all the towns of their dominions, both large and small, the inhabitants should be registered by decades of ten, and that one of these should be selected as a decurion, to have charge over the other nine. Five of these decurions, each having charge of nine other men, had a man from among their number who had rule over them, and thus commanded fifty men. Two of these rulers of fifty had a superior, who thus commanded a hundred men. Five centurions were subject to another chief, who ruled five hundred; and two

of these obeyed a general commanding a thousand men. These officers did not command more than a thousand men, because it was considered that this number was as many as one man could properly superintend. Thus there were chiefs over ten, fifty, a hundred, five hundred, and a thousand, subordinate one to the other, from the decurion to the chief over a thousand, whom we should call a general.

CHAPTER XII.

TWO DUTIES WHICH THE DECURIONS PERFORMED.

The decurion was obliged to perform two duties in relation to the men composing his division. One was to act as their caterer, to assist them with his diligence and care on all occasions when they required help, reporting their necessities to the governor or other officer, whose duty it was to supply seeds when they were required for sowing; or cloth for making clothes; or to help to rebuild a house if it fell or was burnt down; or whatever other need they had, great or small. The other duty was to act as a crown officer, reporting every offence, how slight soever it might be, committed by his people, to his superior, who either pronounced the punishment, or referred it to another officer of still higher rank. For the judges were appointed to hear cases, according to their importance, one being superior to another. The object of this was that there might be officers who could treat some cases summarily, in order that it might not be necessary to go before superior judges with appeals. It was considered that light punishments gave confidence to evil doers; and that, owing to numerous appeals, civil suits might be endless, causing the poor to despair of getting justice and to give up their goods rather than endure so much annoyance, for to recover ten it might

be necessary to spend thirty. It was therefore provided that in each village there should be a judge, who should finally settle the disputes that might arise amongst the inhabitants; but when the dispute was between two provinces respecting boundaries, or rights of pasturage, the Ynca sent a special judge, as we shall relate further on.

If any of the inferior or superior officers were careless in performing their duties as caterers, they were punished more or less severely, according to the nature of the offence. And he who did not report the neglect of his inferiors, even when the delay was only for a single day, without sufficient cause, made the fault his own, and received double punishment, once for not having done his own duty properly, and again for the fault of his inferior, which he had made his own, by his silence. And as every officer had a superior over him, they took care to perform their duties with all possible care and attention; and thus it was that there were no vagabonds or idlers, and that no one did what he ought not to do; for they all had an accuser close at hand, and the punishments were severe. The most common punishment was death, for they said that a culprit was not punished for the delinquencies he had committed, but for having broken the commandment of the Ynca, who was respected as God. And although the aggrieved person separated himself from the quarrel, justice was enforced by the ordinary judgment of officers, who inflicted the full punishment established by law for each offence, according to its degree, either death, or flogging, or banishment, or the like.

They punished a child for any delinquency he might commit, according to the gravity of his offence, even although it should only be a child's naughtiness. But the punishment was remitted or made lighter according to the circumstances. And the father was also punished severely, for not having instructed and corrected his child from infancy, and prevented it from being guilty of naughtiness or ill manners.

It was the duty of the decurion to accuse the child, as well as the father, of any delinquency; and for this reason the children were brought up with great care, that they might not be guilty of naughtiness or commit shameful acts either in the streets or in the fields. Thus, what with the naturally meek disposition of the Indians, and the instruction of their parents, the youths became so amenable, that there was no difference between them and gentle lambs.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONCERNING CERTAIN LAWS THAT THE YNCAS INSTITUTED IN THEIR GOVERNMENT.

They never imposed a pecuniary fine, nor punished by the confiscation of goods, because they said that to do so, and at the same time to allow the delinquent to live, was not to rid the commonwealth of an evil, but only to deprive an evil doer of his property, leaving him with liberty to do more evil. If any curaca rebelled (a crime which was more severely punished than any other by the Yncas), or committed any other fault which was worthy of death, even if that punishment was inflicted upon him, his successor was not deprived of his right; but received the command with a warning not to do anything to merit a similar fate. Pedro de Cieza de Leon, in chapter xxi,* has the following passage on this subject:

"They also adopted another plan in order that they might not be detested by the natives. They never deprived the native chiefs of their inheritance; and if any of them was so guilty as to merit deprivation, the vacant office was given to his sons or brothers, and all men were ordered to obey them."

* It should be xli. See my translation, p. 150.

So far is from Pedro de Cieza. The same rule was observed in their wars, the native chiefs of the provinces whence troops were drawn never being deprived of the command of them. They were left in the enjoyment of their appointments, even if they were masters of the camp, while commanders of the blood royal were placed over them. They enjoyed serving under lieutenants of the Yncas, whose members they said they were, being their ministers and soldiers; and they held such appointments to be very great favours. The judge had no power to mitigate a penalty ordained by the law, but he was obliged to execute it in its integrity, on pain of death, as a breaker of the royal commandment. They said that to give the judge any discretion in the infliction of punishments was to diminish the majesty of the law ordained by the king, with the advice of men of such experience and wisdom as he had in his council, which experience and wisdom were wanting to the inferior judges. It was also considered that such discretion would make the judges venal, and open the door to petitions and bribes, whence would arise very great confusion in the commonwealth, each judge acting according to his caprice. A judge, therefore, should not assume the position of a lawyer, but should put in force that which the law commanded, how severe soever it might be. Assuredly if we consider the severity of those laws, which generally (however slight the offence might be, as we have already said) imposed the punishment of death, they may be said to have been the laws of barbarians. But looking to the benefit which accrued to the commonwealth from this very rigour, it may, on the other hand, be affirmed that they were the laws of a wise people who desired to extirpate crime; for the infliction of the penalties of the law with so much severity, and the natural love of life and hatred of death in men, led to a detestation of those crimes which led to it. Thus it was that, in the whole empire of the Yncas, there was scarcely

a crime to be punished in the year. For the whole empire, being 1300 leagues long and containing so many nations and languages, was governed by the same laws and ordinances, as if it had been no more than one house. These laws were also regarded with much love and respect, because they were held to be divine; for as, in their vain belief, they held their kings to be sons of the sun, and the sun to be God, and they considered every mere order of the king to be a divine decree, how much more would they venerate the special laws instituted for the common good. They said that the sun had ordered these laws to be made, and had revealed them to his child the Ynca; and hence a man who broke them was held to be guilty of sacrilege. It often happened that such delinquents, accused by their own consciences, came to declare before the seat of justice their hidden sins; for, besides believing that their souls might be condemned, they held it to be a shameful thing that evil should be brought upon the commonwealth by their faults, such as pestilence, deaths, bad harvests, or other special misfortunes. They therefore wished to appease God by their deaths, rather than that, through their crime, more evils should be brought upon the earth. From these public confessions, I suspect, the assertions of the Spanish historians have arisen that the Indians of Peru confessed in secret, as we Christians do, and that they had confessors. This is an erroneous account, which the Indians must have given to please the Spaniards, and to ingratiate themselves into favour, answering their inquiries in the way which seemed to please them best, and not in conformity with the truth. For there certainly were no secret confessions among the Indians. I speak of those of Peru, and do not refer to other kingdoms, nations, and provinces, of which I have no knowledge. But they had public confessions, as I have said, in which they sought for exemplary punishment.*

* Don Mariano Rivero gives the following account of the Indian custom of confession:—

They did not have appeals from one tribunal to another, in any suit, either civil or criminal; for, as the judge had no discretion, he enforced the law bearing on the case at once, and thus concluded the suit; although under the government of those kings, and from the mode of life of their vassals, few civil suits arose. In each village there was a judge to hear the cases which arose in it, who was obliged to enforce the law within five days of having heard the suit. If a case came before him of more than usual atrocity or importance, requiring a superior judge, it went before the judge of the chief town of the province. For in each province there was a superior governor, but no litigant could go beyond his own village or province to seek for justice. The Kings Yncas knew well that for a poor man, on account of his poverty, it was not well to seek justice out of his own country, nor in many tribunals, owing to the expenses he would incur, and the inconvenience he would suffer, which often exceed in value what he goes in search of, and thus justice disappears, especially if the law-suit is against the

"The Indians scrupulously observed the office of Penitence. Before the principal festivals, they confessed their sins to a priest, and fasted for some days. The priest then placed some sacrificial ashes on a stone, and the penitents blew them into the air. They then received a stone called *parca*, and washed their heads in a *tincu*, or point where two streams unite. Returning to the priest, they said—'Hear me! ye hills, plains, condors that fly in the air, owls, lizards, and all plants and animals, for I desire to confess my sins.' On beginning the confession they delivered a ball of red clay, on the point of a cactus thorn, to the priest; and when they had finished, the priest pierced the ball with the thorn until it fell to pieces. If it separated into three pieces the confession was a good one; if into two it was bad, and the penitent had to begin over again. To prove that nothing had been omitted, the penitent had then to put a handful of maize into a bowl. If the number of grains was even the confession had been properly made; if odd it was considered useless. The penance imposed by the priest consisted of abstinence from salt and pepper (*ají*), and of corporal chastisement, such as whipping. Sometimes the penitent had to put on new clothes, so as to leave his sins in the old ones. *Antiguedades Peruanas*, p. 178.

rich and powerful, who, with their might, stifle the rights of the poor.* Desiring to avoid such inconveniences, these princes gave no discretion to the judges, nor did they allow many tribunals, nor the practice of litigants leaving their own provinces. The ordinary judges gave a monthly account of the sentences they had pronounced to their superiors, and these to others, there being several grades of judges, according to the importance of the cases. For in all the offices of the state there were higher and lower grades, up to the highest, who were the presidents or viceroys of the four divisions of the empire. These reports were to show that justice had been rightly administered, and to prevent the inferior judges from becoming careless; and if they were so, they were punished severely. This was a sort of secret inspection, which took place every month. The way of making these reports to the Ynca, or to those of his Supreme Council, was by means of knots, made on cords of various colours, by which means the signification was made out, as by letters. The knots of such and such colours denoted that such and such crimes had been punished, and small threads of various colours attached to the thicker cords signified the punishment that had been inflicted, and in this way they supplied the want of letters. Further on I shall devote a separate chapter to a longer account of this method of counting by knots, which has often caused wonder to the Spaniards, who saw that their own best accountants made mistakes in their arithmetic, while the Indians were so accurate in their calculations that the most difficult were easy to them. For those who understand this method know no other, and are consequently very dexterous in it.

If any dispute arose between two provinces respecting

* The Ynca is here, no doubt, thinking of Spanish tribunals, and comparing the chicanery and interminable law-suits in the country in which he was living with the prompt and even-handed justice administered by his ancestors.

boundaries or rights of pasture, the Ynca sent a judge of the blood royal, who, having seen with his own eyes, and heard all there was to be said on both sides, formed a decision, which was given as a sentence, in the name of the Ynca, and was looked upon as an inviolable law, just as if it had been pronounced by the king himself. When the judge was unable to decide the case, he reported all that had been said to the Ynca, and he either pronounced sentence, or ordered that the dispute should await final decision until the first time that he should visit that district, in order that, having seen everything with his own eyes, he himself might give judgment. The vassals looked upon this as a very great favour and condescension on the part of the Ynca.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DECURIONS GAVE AN ACCOUNT OF THE BIRTHS AND DEATHS.

Returning to the Decurions, we have to record that, in addition to their two duties of catering and acting as crown officers, they had to report to their superiors the number of births and deaths of both sexes, in each month; and at the end of the year a report was made to the king of the births and deaths, and of the number of persons who had gone to the wars and been killed. The same rule was observed in war by the heads of squadrons, ensigns, captains, and camp masters, up to the general. These officers acted as accusers and protectors of their soldiers; and thus there was as much order in the heat of a battle, as in peace, and in the midst of the court. They never allowed the towns they captured to be pillaged, even when they were taken by force of arms. The Indians said that, through their great care in punish-

ing a man's first delinquency, they avoided the effects of his second and third, and of the host of others that are committed in every commonwealth where no diligence is observed to root up the evil plant at the commencement. They considered that it was not a sign of good government, nor of a desire to uproot evil, to wait for an accuser before punishing a malefactor; for that many injured persons dislike the office of accusers, and prefer revenging themselves with their own hands. Hence grave scandals arise in a commonwealth, which are avoided by punishing offenders without waiting for an accusation against them.

The officers had names which referred to the number of the persons under them. The Decurions were called *Chunca-camayu*, which means "he who has charge of ten men." It is a word composed of *chunca* (ten), and *camayu* (he who has charge):* and so on with the other officers, whose names, to avoid prolixity, we will not give in the native language; although it might be agreeable to the curious to see one or two numbers given, with the word *camayu*.† This word *camayu* also serves to convey many other significations, in conjunction with another noun or verb which would denote the thing of which the officer has charge. And this very word *chunca-camayu* also means an inveterate gambler—one who carries a pack of cards in the hood of his cloak, as the saying is. For any game is called *chunca*,‡ because all are counted by numbers, and all numbers run in decimals.

* *Cama* is an adverb, signifying "until." Hence *camay* the "turn," or a "task" in labour; also "duty." *Camayu* or *Camayoc*, "one in charge of any duty," or "an official." *Camanca*, "worthy." *Cama* also means "all."

† *Chunca-camayu* - - - Officer over 10.
Pichca-chunca camayu - - „ 50.
Pachac-camayu - - - „ 100.
Pichca-pachac-camayu - - „ 500.
Huaranca-camayu - - „ 1000.

‡ *Chuncaycuna*, hazard; *Chuncay*, bat and ball.

They therefore used the word "ten" for a game; and to say "we play," they used the word *chuncasun.** This word, in its strict signification, means "we count by tens or by numbers," which is as much as to say "we play." I have said this to show in how many different ways these Indians used a single word; and this is the reason that it is so difficult to attain a correct knowledge of their language.

By means of these decurions, the Yncas and the viceroys or governors of provinces knew how many vassals there were in each village, so as to be able to apportion, without oppression, the dues and services for the public works, which the people had to furnish for their provinces, such as bridges, roads, royal edifices, and similar works; also to select the people to serve in war, both as soldiers and porters. If any man returned from the war without permission, his captain or ensign accused him, and the decurion of his village apprehended him. He was punished with death, for the treason of having deserted his companions and his captain in the war, as well as having abandoned the service of the Ynca, or the general who represented him. For another reason, besides those of fixing the contributions and selecting persons to serve in war, the Ynca ordered an annual report to be furnished of the number of vassals of all ages in each province and village, as well as their populousness; and this was done that a knowledge might be had of the quantity of provisions that would be needed in years of scarcity and bad harvests, and of the necessary supplies of cloth and cotton for clothing the people, as we shall relate further on. All this the Ynca ordered to be ascertained, that there might be no delay in relieving his vassals when it became necessary. With reference to this thoughtful care of the Yncas for their vassals, Father Blas Valera frequently says that they ought in no wise to be called kings, but

* *Chuncasun* would be the first person singular of the indicative future of the verb *chuncani* (I play).

rather very prudent and diligent tutors of children. And the Indians, to express all in one word, called them "lovers of the poor."

In order that the governors and judges might not be careless in discharging their duties, nor the other officers of the Sun or the Ynca, there were overseers or examiners who secretly traversed the districts, inquiring into the work of the officers, and reporting their shortcomings to their superiors, in order that they might be punished. These overseers were called *Tucuyricoc*, which means "He who sees all". These officers, as well as all others who served under the government, were subordinate one to another, in higher or lower grades, that none might be negligent of their duties. Any judge or governor who had been guilty of injustice or of any other fault, was punished more severely than an ordinary person who committed the same offence, and this severity was in proportion to the rank of the offender. For they said that it could not be endured that he who had been selected to administer justice should commit crime; for that this was to offend the Sun, and the Ynca who had selected him to be better than the rest of his subjects.

CHAPTER XV.

THE INDIANS DENY THAT AN YNCA OF THE BLOOD ROYAL HAS EVER COMMITTED ANY CRIME WHATEVER.

It does not appear that any Ynca of the blood royal has ever been punished, at least publicly, and the Indians deny that such a thing has ever taken place. They say that the Ynca never committed any fault that required correction; because the teaching of their parents, and the common opinion that they were children of the Sun, born to teach and to do good to the rest of mankind, kept them under such

control that they were rather an example than a scandal to the commonwealth. The Indians also said that the Yncas were free from the temptations which usually lead to crime, such as passion for women, envy and covetousness, or the thirst for vengeance; because if they desired beautiful women, it was lawful for them to have as many as they liked; and any pretty girl they might take a fancy to, not only was never denied to them, but was given up by her father with expressions of extreme thankfulness that an Ynca should have condescended to take her as his servant. The same thing might be said of their property; for, as they never could feel the want of anything, they had no reason to covet the goods of others; while as governors they had command over all the property of the Sun and of the Ynca; and those who were in charge, were bound to give them all that they required, as children of the Sun, and brethren of the Ynca. They likewise had no temptation to kill or wound anyone either for revenge, or in passion; for no one ever offended them. On the contrary, they received adoration only second to that offered to the royal person; and if anyone, how high soever his rank, had enraged any Ynca, it would have been looked upon as sacrilege, and very severely punished. But it may be affirmed that an Indian was never punished for offending against the person, honour, or property of any Ynca, because no such offence was ever committed, as they held the Yncas to be like gods. On the other hand, no Ynca was ever punished for committing a crime; and the Indians will never confess either the one or the other, being much scandalised when the Spaniards ask such questions. Hence must have arisen the assertion of one of the Spanish historians that they had a law that no Ynca could be put to death. Such a law would be a scandal to the Indians, who would say that it gave the Yncas licence to commit any crime they liked, thus making one rule for them and another for the rest of mankind. Rather one who

thus disgraced the blood royal should be punished with more severity and rigour, because, being an Ynca, he had become *Auca*, that is a tyrant and a traitor.

Speaking of the justice of the Yncas, in his forty-fourth chapter, Pedro de Cieza de Leon writes as follows respecting their army:—

"If there was any rising in the surrounding districts, they were ready to punish it with great severity; for the Yncas were such perfect judges, that they did not hesitate to punish even their own sons".*

And in the sixtieth chapter, also speaking of their justice, he says:—

"If any of those whose duty it was to traverse the roads, entered the fields or dwellings of the Indians, although the damage they did was small, they were ordered to be put to death."†

The author says this without making any distinction between Yncas and those who were not Yncas, for their laws were applicable to all. The fact of being children of the Sun increased the obligation to do well, for the Indians believed that both the royal blood and goodness came by inheritance. They believed this so implicitly that when a Spaniard praised any things that had been done by an Ynca, the Indians told him not to be surprised for that it was an Ynca's work; or if anything was depreciated as being badly done, they said that it must not be supposed that any Ynca could have done it; and, if so, it was not a true Ynca, but some bastard like Atahualpa, who committed treason against Huasca Ynca, the legitimate heir, as we shall relate more fully in its place.

The Ynca had a council of war for each of the four districts into which the empire was divided, as well as a council of justice and of finance. These councils had their subordi-

* See p. 164 of my translation.

† See p. 217 of my translation.

nate officials, each in his proper rank, from the highest to the lowest, the lowest being the commanders of ten men. These officials reported all matters to their immediate superiors, until the reports reached the supreme councils. There were four viceroys, one in each of the four districts, who were presidents of these councils, and thus information was received of all that passed in the kingdom, for report to the Ynca. These viceroys were under the immediate control of the Ynca, and governed their respective provinces. They were obliged to be legitimate Yncas of the blood, experienced in affairs, and they alone formed the council of state, and received orders from the Ynça touching what was to be done both in peace and war, transmitting them to their officials, from rank to rank, till they reached the last.

This will suffice for the present, touching the laws and government of the Yncas; and further on, in narrating their their lives and acts, I shall treat of such things as seem most noteworthy.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LIFE AND ACTS OF SINCHI ROCA THE SECOND KING OF THE YNCA DYNASTY.

To Manco Ccapac succeeded his son, Sinchi Roca. His proper name was Roca (with the pronunciation of the R soft). This word has no meaning in the general language of Peru, but it may have some signification in the special idiom of the Yncas, although I am not aware of it. Father Blas Valera says that *roca* means a prudent and wise prince, but he does not tell us in what language. He notices the pronunciation of the R soft, as we have done. He recounts the excellence of the Ynca Roca, as we shall see presently. *Sinchi* is an adjective signifying "valiant,"* because they

* Or strong.

say that he was of a brave disposition, and very strong, although he did not display these qualities in battle, as he did not wage war upon anyone. He had the advantage of all persons of his time in wrestling, running, leaping, throwing a stone or lance, and in every other feat of strength.

This prince, having completed the solemn obsequies of his father, and taken the crown, which was a red fringe, proposed to extend his territory. For this purpose he summoned the principal curacas of his father's court, and addressed them in a long and solemn discourse. Among other things, he said that, in compliance with his father's policy when he returned to heaven, he desired the conversion of the Indians to a knowledge of the worship of the Sun. He, therefore, intended to convoke the neighbouring nations, in order to charge and order them to consider that, as they accepted the Ynca as their rightful king, they were under an obligation to offer the same service to the Sun, who was the common father of all men, and to benefit their neighbours who were in so much need of help, to enable them to emerge from their sensual and ignorant mode of life. They ought, he said, to display, in their persons, the advantages and superiority of their present over their former lives, before the arrival of the Ynca his father; and to bring the savages to a sense of the benefits they themselves had acquired, that they might the more easily be induced to receive similar instruction.

The curacas answered that they were bound to obey the king, even if they should enter the fire for his service, and thus the discourse was concluded, and the day for their departure was arranged. At the appointed time the Ynca set out, well attended by his followers, and entered Collasuyu, which is to the south of the city of Cuzco. Here he convoked the Indians, and urged them, with mild words, to submit to his sway, and to adore the Sun. The Indians of the Puchina and Canchi nations,* who dwell in that region,

* These Indians dwelt in the lovely vale of the Vilcamayu, south of

are exceedingly simple in their natural condition, and very ready to believe any new thing, as are all the Indians. So, when they saw the example of the subjects of the Ynca, for example is what most easily convinces on all occasions, they were easily persuaded to obey the Ynca, and to submit to his government. Thus, without fighting, he extended his frontier on this side, as far as the village called Chuncara, or about twenty leagues beyond the limits of his father's dominions, including many towns on the right and left of the road. In all these villages he followed the example of his father, teaching the people to cultivate the land, and to practise a moral and natural mode of life, persuading them to put aside their idols and their evil customs, and to keep the laws and precepts ordained by the Ynca Manco Ccapac. The Indians submitted, and obeyed all the orders that he gave, being well contented with the new government of the Ynca Sinchi Rocca, who, in imitation of his father, did all in his power to benefit them, with much bounty and love.

Some Indians will have it that this Ynca did not extend his dominion beyond Chuncara, and it would seem that this view is more in accordance with the small power then possessed by the Yncas. But others affirm that he passed far beyond that point, and annexed many other villages and tribes on the road of Umasuyu, such as Cancalla, Cacha, Rurucachi, Asillu, Asancata, Huancane,* and as far as the town called Pucara de Umasuyu, so called to distinguish it from another Pucara in Urcosuyu. I name these places in detail for the

Cuzco. The Canchis are described by Cieza de Leon as intelligent and homely Indians, without malice, skilful in working metals, and possessing large flocks of llamas. A writer in the *Mercurio Peruano* describes the Canchis as a very bold, restless, and inconstant people, but as good workmen, industrious, and brave. They loved solitude, and built their huts in secluded ravines.

* The last three of these places are in the province of Azangaro, a lofty plateau north of lake Titicaca. Huancane is close to the northern shore of the lake.

use of those in Peru; but it would be an impertinence to do so for those in other countries, and I trust that the latter will pardon my desire to be of use to all. *Pucara* means a fortress, and it is said that this prince ordered it to be built in order to protect the frontier of his newly acquired territory. In the direction of the country of the Antis he annexed land as far as the river called Collahuaya* (where very fine gold is found, said to exceed twenty-four carats), and gained all the villages between the Collahuaya and the royal road of Umasuya, where the above mentioned villages are situated. Whether the truth be with the statements of the first or of the second of these narrators, it matters little whether it was the second or the third Ynca who made these acquisitions. What is certain is, that they were acquired, and not by force of arms, but by persuasion and promises, and by the fulfilment of those promises. As they were made without conquest, there is little to say respecting their acquisition, except that it took many years to achieve; but it is not exactly known how many, nor how many years the Ynca Sinchi Roca reigned. Some say his reign lasted for thirty years. He spent them like a good gardener who, having planted a tree, cultivated it with all possible care, that it might yield the desired fruit. Thus lived this Ynca, reigning with all care and diligence, and he saw and enjoyed, in peace and quietness, the harvest of his labours. His vassals were very loyal and grateful for the benefits he conferred upon them. They obeyed his laws and ordinances with much love and veneration as commandments of their god the Sun, for so they were taught to look upon them.

Having lived for many years in peace and prosperity, the Ynca Sinchi Roca died, saying that he went to rest with his father the Sun, desisting from his labours to bring men to a knowledge of their god. He left his legitimate son Lloque

Yupanqui as his successor, whose mother was the second Ynca's legitimate wife, Mama Cora, or Mama Ocllo as others say. Besides his heir, the Ynca left other sons by his wife, and by his concubines who were his relations, and whose children we look upon as of the legitimate blood royal. He also left a great number of natural sons by alien concubines, that the generation and caste of the Sun, as they called it, might multiply.

CHAPTER XVII.

LLOQUE YUPANQUI, THIRD KING, AND THE MEANING OF HIS NAME.

The Ynca Lloque Yupanqui was the third of the Kings of Peru. His name of *Lloque* means left-handed. The neglect of his attendants in nursing him, which led to his becoming left-handed, was the reason of his receiving this name. The name of Yupanqui was given him for his virtuous actions. That the various idioms used by the Indians in the general language of Peru may be understood, it must be known that this word *Yupanqui* is the second person singular of the imperfect future of the indicative mood of a verb, and that it means "*You will count.*" In this one verb thus used by itself is enclosed and denoted all that can be said in praise of a prince. It is as much as to say—"You will count your great actions, your excellent virtues, your clemency, piety, gentleness, etc." This is an elegant phrase in a language which has not many words, but these words are very expressive; for in applying a noun or verb to their kings, these Indians made it comprehend all that could be understood by such noun or verb. Thus the word *ccapac*, which means rich, does not imply wealth in property, but in all the virtues which a good king can

possess. But they did not speak of any one else in this way, not even of the greatest lords, but only of the kings, for they would not make common use of words that were applied to their Yncas. Such misuse would be considered as sacrilege; and it would seem that these names were like that of Augustus, which the Romans gave to Octavius Cæsar for his virtue; but to use such a term in speaking of any one who was not an emperor or a great king would be to make it lose all its majesty.

A similar phrase was also used to denote evil qualities, for in that language these phrases were applied to both good and bad significations; but the same verb was not used to indicate good and bad. Another word of similar meaning was set aside to denote the bad qualities of a prince, which was *Huacanqui*, used in the same mood, tense, number, and person. It signified "You will mourn" for your cruelties done in public and private, with poison or knife, for your insatiable avarice, your tyranny without distinction of sacred or profane things, and for all other evils that can be deplored of a wicked prince. But as they declare that there never was occasion to deplore the acts of their Yncas, they used the verb *huacanqui* in speaking of lovers, the phrase signifying that they will mourn the passion and torment that love causes to those who are enamoured. These two words, Ccapac and Yupanqui, with the meanings we have described, the Indians used in speaking of their kings. Many persons of the blood royal also took them, making them into proper names of Ynca families, as has been done in Spain with the name Manuel, which, having been the name of an Infante of Castille, has since become the surname of his descendants.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TWO CONQUESTS MADE BY THE YNCA LLOQUE YUPANQUI.

Having taken possession of his kingdom, and visited it in person, the Ynca Lloque Yupanqui proposed to extend its limits, and for this purpose he ordered 6000 or 7000 men of war to be assembled, so that he might advance with more power and authority than his predecessors; for more than seventy years had passed since they became kings, and it seemed to him that all their policy should not be one of prayer and persuasion, but that arms and power should form a part, at least with those who were stubborn and pertinacious. He nominated two of his uncles to be masters of the camp, and others of his relations as commanders and councillors. Then, instead of the road of Umasuyu, which his father had followed in his expeditions, he took that of Urcosuyu. These two roads diverge at Chuncara, and, passing through the district called Collasuyu, surround the great lake of Titicaca.

As soon as the Ynca had crossed his own frontier, he entered a great province called Cana, and sent messages to the inhabitants, requiring them to submit to and obey the child of the Sun, abandoning their own vain and evil sacrifices, and bestial customs. The Canas desired to take their time in informing themselves respecting all that the Ynca desired them to do, what sort of laws they were to obey, and what Gods to worship. As soon as they understood these things, they replied that they were content to worship the Sun, to obey the Ynca, and to keep his laws and customs, because they appeared better than their own.* Thus they

* The Canas inhabited one side of the valley of Vilcamayu, and the Canchis the other—the river dividing them. The Canas were proud,

went forth to receive the king, and do him homage. The Ynca, leaving officers as well to instruct them in their new religion, as to divide the land and bring it under cultivation, marched onwards until he reached the town and nation called Ayaviri.* The natives of Ayaviri were so stubborn and rebellious that neither promises, nor persuasion, nor the examples of the other subjugated Indians were of any avail. They all preferred to die in defending their liberty, being a very different reception from that which the Yncas had hitherto encountered. So they came forth to fight, with no wish to hear reason, obliging the Yncas to arm their men rather in self-defence than for attack. The fight continued for a long time, and many were killed and wounded on both sides. The men of Ayaviri fortified their town in the best manner they could, and sallied forth every day to fight the Ynca's followers. The Ynca, following the traditional policy of his fathers, avoided injuring the enemy as much as possible, and, as if he was the besieged rather than the besieger, endured the insolence of the barbarians, and ordered his men to close the blockade without coming to hand to hand combats. But those of Ayaviri, taking courage from the forbearance of the Ynca, and attributing it to cowardice, became every day more hard to reduce and fiercer in battle, until at length they entered the very tents of the Yncas. In these skirmishes and encounters the besieged always got the worst of it.

The Ynca, in order that the other nations might not follow a bad example, and take up arms, wished to punish

cautious, and melancholy, their clothing usually of a sombre colour, and their music plaintive and sad. They were constantly in a state of revolt against the Yncas, until Huayna Ccapac gave one of his daughters in marriage to their Curaca. *Mercurio Peruano.*

* Ayaviri is near the lofty pass dividing the valley of Vilcamayu from the lofty plateau of the Collas. Here two roads branch off to the southward—one to Azangaro and Umasayu, the other to Pucara and Chucuito; one to the east, the other to the west side of lake Titicaca.

these audacious men; and sent for reinforcements, more to shew his power, than for any necessity he had for them. He then pressed the enemy so closely on all sides, that they could not come forth for anything they had need of; so that they were much straitened for want of food. They one day tried their fortune in a hand to hand combat, and fought most fiercely, but the troops of the Ynca resisted with great valour, and many were killed and wounded on both sides. Those of Ayaviri suffered so much in this battle, that they never came out to fight again. The Ynca did not wish to destroy them, although he easily could have done so, but to press the siege until they were obliged to surrender. When the reinforcements arrived which the Ynca had sent for, those of Ayaviri thought it time to submit. The Ynca received them, and after they had listened to a severe admonition for having resisted the child of the Sun, he pardoned them, and ordered them to be treated well, without reference to the obstinacy they had displayed.* Leaving officers to teach them, and to look after the property to be set apart for the Sun and the royal use, the Ynca advanced to the town now called Pucara. It is a fortress which was ordered to be built as a defence of the frontier that had been won; and also the fortress was erected because it was necessary to capture the place by force of arms. A strong garrison was left in it, and the Ynca returned to Cuzco, where he was received with great rejoicings.

* Cieza de Leon mentions this war between the Ynca Lloque Yupanqui and the people of Ayaviri. He tells us that the Indians consider the inhabitants of Ayaviri to be of the same descent and lineage as the Canas. He adds that, after this war, few were left alive, and the survivors wandered in the fields, calling on their dead, and mourning with groans and great sorrow over the destruction that had come upon their people. The Ynca caused a great palace to be built at Ayaviri, and a temple of the Sun, and sent fresh colonists to repeople it. See my translation, p. 358.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CONQUESTS OF HATUN-COLLA, AND THE ORIGIN OF THE COLLAS.

After a few years Lloque Yupanqui again turned his attention to the conquest and subjugation of the Indians; for these Yncas, having from the beginning spread the report that the Sun had sent them upon earth to lead men from their wild state, and teach them civilisation, sustained this belief by adopting for their principal aim the reduction of the Indians under their sway, thus concealing their ambition with the saying that their acts were commanded by the Sun. On this occasion the Ynca ordered eight or nine thousand men of war to be assembled, and, having appointed councillors and officers for the army, he set out for the district of Colla-suyu, by the road leading to his fortress of Pucara, where Francisco Hernandez Giron was afterwards defeated in the battle called of Pucara.* Thence the Ynca

* Cieza de Leon mentions the siege of Pucara by the Ynca, but he makes the mistake of calling him Tupac Yupanqui instead of Lloque Yupanqui. He adds that he spent a day at Pucara, and saw the ruins of great edifices, as well as many pillars of stone carved in the form of men. See my translation, p. 368.

Pucara is in latitude 15° 2′ S., and, according to an observation I made in April 1860 with a boiling-point thermometer, about 13,000 feet above the level of the sea. The surrounding country consists of grassy plains, with ridges of steep hills dotted over with a tree resembling a yew at a distance *(Polylepis tomentella)*, called *queñua* in Quichua. The plains and hill sides are covered with herds of cattle, tended by little cow-girls with their slings. The town of Pucara nestles under the perpendicular face of a magnificent rock of reddish sandstone, 1800 feet high, the crevices and summit covered with long grass *(Stipa Ychu)* and *queñua* trees. Birds whirl in circles over their eyries, and the rock is famous for a very fine breed of falcons. At present there are some small manufactories of glazed earthenware at Pucara. A deep river flows over the plain to empty itself into lake Titicaca, passing about five hundred yards east of the town.

sent messengers to Paucar-colla and Hatun-colla, places whence the district took the name of Colla-suyu. This district is very extensive, containing many nations and tribes under the general name of Colla. The Ynca demanded that they should submit to him as others had done, and that they should not offer resistance like the men of Ayaviri, who had been punished by the Sun with famine and death for taking up arms against his children. He warned them that they would meet the same fate if they fell into a similar error. The Collas took counsel, their principal men assembling in Hatun-colla, which means great Colla. Considering that those of Ayaviri and Pucara had been punished by heaven for resisting, they replied that they were well satisfied to become vassals of the Ynca and to worship the Sun, adopting his laws and ordinances, and observing them. Having sent this answer, they came forth to meet the Ynca with much solemnity, rejoicing with songs invented for the occasion, to show their feelings.

The Ynca received the Curacas with much kindness, giving them clothes for their persons, and other presents, which they valued very highly; and henceforward both this Ynca and his descendants favoured and honoured these two places, especially Hatun-colla, for the service they then performed in receiving him with signs of love, for the Yncas always shewed great favour and kindness to those who acted thus, recommending them to their successors. Thus Hatun-colla was, from that time, ennobled by the erection of large and beautiful edifices, besides the temple of the Sun and convent of virgins which were founded there, a thing very highly esteemed by the Indians.*

* Hatun-colla and Paucar-colla are, at present, two villages within a league of each other, and seventy miles south of Pucara. Paucar-colla is on the high road from Cuzco, by Pucara, to Puno and Bolivia; Hatun-colla a little off the road. I found Paucar-colla to be 12,987 feet above the level of the sea, in April 1860. This little village is on an eminence surrounded by broad grassy plains, which extend to the

The Collas consist of many different nations, and thus they believe themselves to be descended from various things. Some say that their first fathers came out of the great lake of Titicaca. They looked upon this lake as a mother, and, before the Yncas subjugated them, they adored it among their numerous gods, and offered up sacrifices on its banks. Others thought they derived their origin from a great fountain, out of which they declared that their first ancestor had issued. Others said that their ancestors had come out of caves and recesses of great rocks, and they looked upon such places as sacred, visiting them at certain seasons and offering up sacrifices, in acknowledgment of their duties as children to parents. Others thought that their first progenitor had come out of a river, and they held it in great reverence and veneration as a father, looking upon the killing of fish in that river as sacrilege; for they said that the fish were their brothers. They believed in many other fables respecting their origin; and, from the same cause, they had many different gods, some for one reason and others for another.* There was only one deity which all the Collas united in worshipping and holding as their principal god. This was a white sheep, for they were the lords of innumerable flocks. They said that the first sheep in the upper earth (for so they named heaven) had taken more care of them than of the other Indians, and that it shewed

shores of lake Titicaca. It consists of about a dozen huts built round a large square, with a dilapidated mud church forming one side. Hatun-colla is visible on the skirts of the Cordillera to the westward.

The grand edifices at Hatun-colla, mentioned in the text, and the ruins of which were seen by Cieza de Leon (p. 369), have now entirely disappeared. But some most interesting ruins, the towers of Sillustani, are still in good preservation, on the banks of a lake, a short league from Hatun-colla. I have given a detailed account of them elsewhere (*Travels in Peru and India*, p. 111). They are, however, of a date anterior to the conquest of this part of Peru by the Yncas.

* Cieza de Leon says—"No sense can be got out of the Collas concerning their origin." (P. 363.)

its love for them by leaving a larger posterity in the land of the Collas than in any other land in the whole world. These Indians said this because there are larger flocks of native sheep* bred in the Collas than in all Peru besides, and for this reason the Collas worshipped a sheep, and offered up lambs and grease as sacrifices. They valued the white sheep amongst their sheep much more highly than any others, because they said that those which most resembled their first parent contained most godlike qualities. Besides this folly, a very infamous practice prevailed in many provinces of the Collas, which was that, before marriage, the women were allowed to act as shamefully as they liked with their persons, and the most dissolute were most sought after in marriage. The Kings Yncas put a stop to all these things, but chiefly to the worship of many gods, persuading the people that the Sun, for its beauty and excellence, and because it created and sustained all things, alone merited adoration. The Yncas did not contradict the Indians in the tales respecting their origin and descent; for, as they prided themselves on their descent from the Sun, they encouraged many other fables, that their own might be more easily believed.

Having arranged the government of these important towns, as well with regard to his vain religion as to the revenue of the Sun and of the crown, the Ynca returned to Cuzco, not desiring to advance further in his conquests; for these sovereigns always deemed it to be wiser to acquire territory little by little, and to settle their government amongst their new subjects, than to make rapid advances and appear to be tyrannical, ambitious, and covetous.

* Llamas.

CHAPTER XX.

THE GREAT PROVINCE OF CHUCUITU IS REDUCED, AS WELL AS MANY OTHER PROVINCES.

The Ynca was received in Cuzco with great joy and festivity, and he remained there for some years, superintending the government, and watching over the welfare of his vassals. Afterwards he resolved to visit the whole of his provinces, because the Indians were pleased to see the Ynca in their districts, and that his officers might not become careless in their duties, owing to the absence of the king. Having completed his inspection, he ordered preparations to be made for war, with a view to extending his previous conquests. He set out with an army of 10,000 men led by chosen captains, and reached Hatun-colla and the borders of Chucuitu, a famous and populous province; which was considered of such importance, when the Spaniards made a division of this land, that it was allotted to the emperor.* The Ynca sent the usual message to the people of Chucuitu that they should adore the Sun, and receive him as their god. These people, although they were powerful, and their ancestors had subdued some neighbouring tribes, had no desire to resist the Ynca, and replied that they would obey him with all love and willingness, because he was a child of the Sun. They added that they were aware of his clemency and kindness, and that they desired, by becoming his vassals, to enjoy his bounty.

The Ynca received them with his usual affability, and gave them thanks and presents, which were highly esteemed amongst the Indians. Seeing the successful issue of this

* The district along the western shore of lake Titicaca. See *Cieza de Leon*, p. 373.

undertaking, the Ynca then sent similar messages to all the neighbouring tribes, as far as the *Desaguadero** of the great lake of Titicaca. These, following the example of Hatuncolla and Chucuitu, readily obeyed the Ynca. The principal towns thus subjugated were Ylave, Juli, Pomata, and Zepita.† We do not repeat the terms of the messages to each of these towns, and the replies, because they were similar to those already stated, and to avoid repetition, we have therefore given one for all. They relate that the Ynca spent many years in settling the government of these towns.

Having pacified this region, his army departed, leaving the necessary guard for his person and ministers, and for the instruction of the people. The Ynca desired to assist personally in this work as well to inspire zeal, as to shew favour to those provinces by his presence, for they were important. The Curacas, and all his vassals, were pleased that the Ynca should remain among them for a winter, for this seemed to them the greatest favour he could confer, and the Ynca treated them with much favour and kindness, every day inventing new favours, for he knew by experience (without reckoning the policy of his forefathers) how effectual were kindness and gentleness in drawing new subjects to willing obedience and service. The Indians spoke of the excellence of their prince on all sides, saying that he was a true child of the Sun. While the Ynca was in the Collas, he ordered 10,000 men of war to assemble there in the ensuing summer. When the time came, he appointed four masters of the camp, nominated a brother of his own, whose name the Indians have not preserved, as general of the

* The river which drains the lake of Titicaca, flowing out of its southern extremity. Hence its name.

† Towns along the western shore of lake Titicaca, in the province of Chucuitu, during the rule of Spanish viceroys, and now in the department of Puno.

army, and ordered him, in concert with the other captains, to proceed with the conquest. All five were strictly enjoined on no account to fight with the Indians, but, in accordance with the tradition of his fathers, to induce them to submit by kindness and persuasion, showing themselves rather to be pious fathers than warlike captains. He directed them to march to the westward, to a province called Hurinpacasa, and to subdue the Indians who inhabit it. The general and his captains obeyed these orders, and reduced the natives without difficulty for a distance of twenty leagues, up to the skirts of the snowy ridge which divides the coast from the *Sierra*. The Indians were easily subdued, because they lived like beasts, without order or policy, the boldest man ruling the others with tyranny and insolence. They were a simple race, and obeyed at once when they heard the marvels which were told of the Ynca as a child of the Sun. This conquest occupied three years, because, the people being brutish, more time was required in instructing than in subduing them. When it was completed, the general and his four captains, leaving the necessary officials and garrisons, returned to give an account of their proceedings to the Ynca. Meanwhile, the Ynca had been engaged in visiting his empire, and extending the area of cultivation by all possible means. He ordered new irrigation channels to be dug, and other works to be executed which were necessary for the welfare of the Indians, such as rest houses, bridges, and roads to connect one province with another. The general and his captains were very well received by the Ynca, and rewarded for their services; and he returned with them to his capital, with the intention of ceasing the conquests, as his frontiers seemed to him to be sufficiently extended. From north to south he had acquired more than forty leagues of territory, and more than twenty from east to west, to the foot of the snowy range dividing the *llanos**

* *Llanos* are the sandy deserts of the coast; and the *Sierra* comprises all the ridges, peaks, lofty table lands, and valleys of the Andes.

from the *Sierra*. These two names have been given by the Spaniards.

The Ynca was received with great rejoicing throughout the whole city of Cuzco, for he was loved exceedingly for his affability, kindness, and liberality. He passed the rest of his life in peace and quiet, conferring benefits on his people, and administering justice. He sent the prince his heir, whose name was Mayta Ccapac, on two occasions to visit the provinces, accompanied by old and experienced men, that he might become known to the vassals, and practise the art of governing. When he felt that death was approaching, he called his sons, and amongst them his heir, and, in place of a will, he commended to them the welfare of his vassals, the duty of observing the laws and ordinances left by their forefathers by command of their father the Sun, and of always behaving like children of the Sun. To the Ynca captains, and the rest of the Curacas who were lords of vassals, he entrusted the care of the poor, charging them to be obedient to the king. Finally, he informed them that his father the Sun had called him to rest from his labours. Having said these and other similar things, the Ynca Lloque Yupanqui died, leaving many sons and daughters by his concubines, although, by his legitimate wife, named Mama Cava, he had no other son than the heir Mayta Ccapac, but two or three daughters. Lloque Yupanqui was mourned for with great sorrow throughout the empire, for he was much loved for his virtues. He was placed in the number of gods, children of the Sun, and was worshipped as one of them. In order that the history may not become tedious, from constantly dwelling on the same subject, it will be well to intersperse the narrative of the lives of the King Yncas with an account of some customs which will be more pleasant to read about than the wars and conquest, almost all carried on in the same way. We will, therefore, now say something of the knowledge of the sciences which the Yncas had reached.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SCIENCES WHICH THE YNCAS HAD ACQUIRED: AND FIRST OF THEIR KNOWLEDGE OF ASTRONOMY.

The Yncas had attained very little knowledge in astronomy and natural philosophy, for, not being acquainted with letters, although there were men of considerable talent among them, whom they called *Amautas*, who conceived philosophical subtleties such as were taught among that people, yet, being unable to write and thus hand down their learning to their successors, their discoveries perished with them, and thus they made little progress in all sciences, and were without any knowledge in some, only possessing general principles drawn from the light of nature, and even these were denoted by gross and unpolished symbols, that the people might see and take note of them. We will give an account of what they knew on each subject. Moral philosophy was well understood, and it was left written in their laws, mode of life, and customs, as we shall see in the course of this history. They were aided in their knowledge by the natural law which they desired to observe, and by the experience they acquired in the practice of good customs, which were cultivated from day to day in their commonwealth.

But they knew little or nothing of natural philosophy; for, leading a simple and natural life, they had no need for making researches. or for snatching the secrets from nature. They passed them by without examination or knowledge, and thus had no necessity for investigating them, nor for studying the qualities of the elements. When they said that the earth was cold and dry, and the fire hot, it was from experience that the fire warmed and burnt, and not from an

investigation of philosophical science. But they had a knowledge of the medicinal virtues of certain herbs and plants, with which they cured their infirmities, as we shall relate when we treat of their medicines. They however acquired this knowledge more by experience (being taught by necessity) than by natural philosophy, for they did not speculate much on things which they could not touch with their hands.

They had somewhat more knowledge of astronomy than of natural philosophy, for they had more incentives to awaken speculation touching the sun and moon and the movements of the planet Venus, which they saw at one time in front of the sun, and at others behind it. They also beheld the moon increase and wane; now full, and again lost to sight in its conjunction. They called this the death of the moon, because they did not see it for three days.* The sun also was an object of wonder, because at one season it approached, and at another it was more distant from them: some days were longer than the nights, others shorter, others the same length. These things gave rise to astonishment, as they could actually watch them without their passing out of sight.

They beheld the effects, but did not seek out the causes; and thus they did not speculate whether there were many heavens, or only one, nor did they imagine that there were more than one. They knew not what caused the increase and wane of the moon, nor the movements of the planets; nor did they take account of more than three planets, and those owing to their size, splendour, and beauty. They did not know of the other four planets. They had no idea of the signs of the Zodiac, much less of their influences. They

* Thus they called the waning moon *Huañuc quilla* ("dying moon"), the new moon *Mosoc quilla* ("round moon"), the increasing moon *Puca quilla* ("red moon"), and the moon in conjunction *Quilla huañuy* ("dead moon").

called the sun *Inti*, the moon *Quilla*, and the planet Venus *Chasca*, which means curly, from its numerous bright rays.* They also observed the seven little goats,† from being so close together, and from the difference they saw between them and the other stars, which excited their wonder. They did not watch the other stars because, having no necessity for doing so, they knew of no object to be gained by examining them, nor had they more special names for the stars than the two already given. They called them all *Coyllur*, which means a star.‡

* There is further mention of *Chasca*, or the morning star, in chapter xxi of book iii, where the Inca says that the meaning of the word is "of the long and curly hair." The literal meaning of the word is "dishevelled." Torres Rubio and Mossi spell it *Chhasca*. *Chasca-huna* means an uncombed or dishevelled head. The planet Venus was called *Chasca-coyllur*, or "the star with dishevelled locks," and also *Manchu-coyllur*, "the ancient star." *Chasca-chuqui* is a lance with a fringe hanging from it, used by the Cañaris Indians. See Torres Rubio, *Vocabulario*, p. 80 (ed. 1754); Von Tschudi, *Kechua Sprache*, ii, p. 219; Mossi, *Lengua General del Peru*, No. 85.

† The Pleiades. Acosta tells us that they were called *Collca* in Quichua. Rivero says these were called *Onccoy-coyllur* ("sick stars"), and the Hyades *Ahuaracaqui* ("jaw of the tapir"). *Antiguedades Peruanas*, p. 126.

‡ Acosta gives the names of some other stars. He says—"They attributed different offices to different stars, and those who needed their assistance worshipped them. Thus the shepherds adored and offered sacrifices to a star which they called *Urcu-chillay*, which they say is a sheep of many colours, presiding over the welfare of the flocks. It is understood to be the same which the astronomers call α *Lyræ*. They also worship two other stars near the star α *Lyræ*, which they call *Catu-chillay*, saying that it is a sheep with a lamb. Others adore a star called *Machacuay*, who presides over the snakes and serpents, and prevents them from doing harm; and another called *Chuqui-chinchay*, said to be a tiger, presiding over tigers, bears, and lions. And generally they believed that every beast and bird on earth had its type in the heavens, presiding over its increase and welfare; and this they believed of the stars called *Chacana*, *Topatorca*, *Mamana*, *Mirco*, *Miquiquiray*, and others, a belief which in some sort resembles the dogma of the Ideas of Plato." *Hist. Moral de Indias*, lib. v, cap. 4.

CHAPTER XXII.

THEY UNDERSTOOD THE MEASUREMENT OF THE YEAR, AND THE SOLSTICES AND EQUINOXES.

With all their rusticity, the Yncas understood that the course of the sun's movement was completed in a year, which they called *huata*. This word means a year; and the same word, without any change in the pronunciation or accent, is a verb meaning to seize.* The common people counted the year by the harvests. The Yncas also had a knowledge of the summer and winter solstices, which were marked by large and conspicuous signs, consisting of eight towers on the east, and other eight on the west side of the city of Cuzco, placed in double rows, four and four, two small ones of three *estados*,† a little more or less, in height, between two other high ones. The small towers were eighteen or twenty feet apart, and the larger ones were at an equal distance on the sides. The latter were much higher than those which in Spain serve as watch towers. The high towers were used as observatories, whence the smaller ones could be more conveniently watched; and the space between the small towers, by which the sun passed in rising and setting, was the point of the solstices. The towers in the east corresponded with those of the west, according as it was the summer or winter solstice.‡

To ascertain the time of the solstice, an Ynca was stationed at a certain point, when the sun rose and set, who watched whether it threw its shadow between the two small towers,

* *Huata*, a year. *Huatani*, I seize.

† The height of a man.

‡ "The towers served them for taking azimuths, and by measuring their shadows they ascertained the exact time of the solstices." Prescott, i, p. 116.

which were on the east and west sides of Cuzco. And in this way they were apprised of the astronomical time of the solstices. Pedro de Cieza (chap. xcii) mentions these towers.* Father Acosta also refers to them in the third chapter of book vi,† although he does not mention their position. They marked the solstices so roughly because they knew not how to fix the days of the month on which they fell, counting the months by moons, as we shall presently see, and not by days. Although they assigned twelve moons to each year, yet, as the solar exceeds the common lunar year by eleven days, they knew how to adjust one to the other, by observing the movement of the sun by the solstices, and not the moons. Thus they divided one year from another, regulating their season for sowing by the solar and not by

* "Another division of Cuzco was called Carmenca, where there were certain small towers for observing the movements of the sun, which the people venerated." See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 325.

The division of Cuzco now called Carmenca was known in the time of the Yncas as *Huaca-puncu* (the holy gate).

† Acosta gives the following account of the solstitial pillars:—"The Peruvians counted their year, giving it the same number of days as our own, and they divided it into twelve months or moons, accounting for the eleven days which are wanting in the lunar year by dividing them over the several months. In order to make their calculation of the year certain and complete, they adopted the following method. On the hills around the city of Cuzco (which was the court of the Kings Yncas, and likewise the chief place in the kingdom, or, as we may say, another Rome) twelve pillars were placed in order, at such distances, and in such positions as that, on each month, each one should shew where the sun rose and where it set. They called these *Succanga*, and from them the festivals were announced, as well as the seasons for sowing and reaping. Certain sacrifices were offered up to these pillars of the sun." Book vi, chap. 3.

The correct word for the solstitial towers or pillars is *Sucanca*, but I am not quite clear as to its derivation. *Succa* means saltpetre, and *Suca*, according to Torres Rubio and Mossi, is a ridge or furrow. *Sucani* would be the verb ("I make furrows"); and *Sucanca* the future passive participle ("that which is about to be furrowed"). May not this name have reference to the alternate light and shade caused by the sunlight between the towers, making the ground appear in ridges or furrows?

the lunar year. Although some have asserted that they adjusted the solar by the lunar year, these authors were in error; for if they had known how to do this they would have fixed the solstices on the proper days of the month, and it would not have been necessary to build towers to serve as marks (*mojoneras*) by which to observe the time with so much care and trouble, watching the rising and setting of the sun each day by the towers.*

I left these towers standing in the year 1560, and, if they have not been pulled down since, the place might be verified by them, whence the Yncas observed the solstices; whether it was from the temple of the Sun, or from some other place which I do not here specify, not being quite certain about it.

The Yncas were also acquainted with the equinoxes, and observed them with great solemnity. During the equinox of March they reaped the maize crops of Cuzco with much festivity and rejoicing, especially on the *Anden* of the Collcampata,† which was regarded as a garden of the Sun. In the equinox of September they celebrated one of the four principal festivals of the Sun, called *Situa Raymi* (*r* soft), which means the "principal feast."‡ It was celebrated in the way which we shall describe further on. To ascertain the time of the equinox they had a stone column, very richly carved, erected in the open spaces in front of the temples of the Sun. When the priests thought that the equinox was approaching, they carefully watched the shadow

* The Yncas called the period from the end of the lunar year to the completion of the solar year *Puchuc quilla* ("finished moon"), and devoted it to rest. *Antig. Per.*, p. 127.

† The glorious terrace to the north of Cuzco, just under the fortress rock, and commanding an unequalled view of the city and distant mountains. Here stand the ruins of the palace of Manco Ccapac, within which are these very terraced maize fields. The Collcampata is the most lovely, but the saddest spot in Peru.

‡ *Situa Raymi*, the month of the autumnal equinox, or September. Rivero gives *Umu-Raymi* as the name for September. But there will be more on this subject further on.

thrown by the pillars every day. The pillar was erected in the centre of a large circle, occupying the whole width of the courtyard. Across the circle a line was drawn from east to west, and long experience had shewn them where the two points should be placed on the circumference. They saw, by the shadow thrown by the column in the direction of the line, that the time of the equinox was approaching; and when the shadow was exactly on the line from sunrise to sunset, and the light of the sun bathed the whole circumference of the column at noon, without any shadow being thrown at all, they knew that the equinox had arrived. Then they adorned the pillar with all the flowers and sweet herbs that could be gathered, and placed the chair of the Sun upon it, saying that on that day the Sun with all its light was seated upon the pillar. Hence they specially worshipped the Sun on that day with more festivity than on any other, and offered up great presents of gold, silver, precious stones, and other valuable things. It is worthy of note that the Kings Yncas and their Amautas, who were philosophers, as they extended their conquests, observed that, the nearer they approached the equinoctial line, the smaller was the shadow thrown by the columns at noon. The columns were therefore more and more venerated as they were erected nearer to the city of Quitu; and above all others they venerated those which were set up in that city itself, and in its vicinity as far as the seacoast, because the Sun being *à plomb* (perpendicular) as the bricklayers say, the pillars then shewed no appearance of a shadow at all at noon. For this reason they were held in the highest veneration, for the Indians said that these must be the seats which were most agreeable to the Sun, seeing that he sat square upon them, while on others he sat sideways. These people gave a place for such follies in their astronomy, because their imaginations did not take them beyond what they could see with their eyes. The pillars of Quitu, and

of all that region, were very properly destroyed by the Governor Sebastian de Belalcazar, and broken into pieces, because the Indians worshipped them as idols. All the others, throughout the empire, were destroyed by the rest of the Spanish captains, as they were found.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THEY OBSERVED THE ECLIPSES OF THE SUN, AND WHAT THEY DID WHEN THOSE OF THE MOON OCCURRED.

They reckoned the months by the moons, from one new moon to another, and they therefore called a month *Quilla*, as well as the moon. They gave a special name to the months, reckoning half months by the increasing and waning of the moon, and the weeks by its quarters, but they did not have names for the days of the month. They observed the eclipses of the sun and of the moon, but they did not understand their cause. Of a solar eclipse they said that the Sun was enraged at some offence that had been committed against Him, for that His face was disturbed like that of an angry man, and they prophesied (like the astrologers) that some heavy chastisement was approaching. When a lunar eclipse took place, seeing the moon become dark, they thought that she was ill; but if it disappeared altogether, they said she was dead, and would fall from the sky, and kill every one beneath, and that the end of the world would come. In great terror, when an eclipse of the moon began, they sounded trumpets, horns, and drums, and all other instruments they possessed, so as to make a great noise. They tied up all the dogs, both large and small, and gave them many blows, to make them call and yell to the moon; for, according to a certain fable they recount, the moon was fond of dogs, owing to a service they had done

her, and they hoped that, when she heard them cry, she would be sorry for them, and awake from the sleep which had been caused by her sickness.* * * * They told the children to cry aloud, calling upon *Mama Quilla,* which means "Mother Moon," and beseeching her not to die, and so cause them all to perish. The men and women did the same. The row and confusion that was caused by all this was so great that it is impossible to imagine it.

According to the completeness of the eclipse was supposed to be the severity of the moon's illness; and, if it was total, there was nothing for it but to believe that the moon was dead, and every moment they expected it to fall and kill them. Then was the lamentation and grief most sincere, for they were as people with death and the world's end before their eyes. When they beheld the moon appearing again, little by little, they said that she was recovering from her sickness; because Pachacamac, who was the sustainer of the universe, had restored her to health, and commanded that she should not die, in order that the world might not perish. Finally, when the light of the moon was quite restored, they offered her congratulations, and many thanks for not having fallen. All this respecting the moon I saw with my own eyes. They called the day *punchau,* the night *tuta,* and the morning *paccari.* They also had words to express the dawn, and other parts of the day and night, such as noon and midnight.

They noticed the lightning, thunder, and thunderbolt, and all three together were called *yllapa.* They did not worship them as gods, but honoured and revered them as servants of the Sun.† They believed that these resided in

* This is disgusting.

† Acosta declares that they did worship these phenomena, and that they were the third *huaca* or object of adoration, the first being *Viracocha* or the Supreme Being, and the second being the Sun. They

the air, and not in heaven. In the same way they looked upon the rainbow as sacred, for the beauty of its colours, and because they understood that this beauty was derived from the Sun; and the Kings Yncas adopted it for their arms, and as their device. In the house of the Sun each of these things was given a place, as we shall relate presently. In the milky way of astronomers, upon some dark spots which spread over part of it, they fancied there was the shape of a sheep with the body complete, and giving suck to a lamb. They wanted to point this out to me, saying—"Do you see the head of the sheep?" "Can't you make out the lamb's head, sucking?" "See you not the body and legs of both?" But I could not see anything but the spots, and this was, doubtless, from a want of imagination.

But they made use of these figures for their astrology, merely desiring to picture them in their fancies. They did not make ordinary prognostications from signs in the sun, moon, or comets; but only prophecies of very rare import, such as the death of kings and the fall of empires. Further on, if we get so far, we shall recount the appearance of some comets. For ordinary omens they made use of dreams and the appearance of sacrifices, but not the signs of the stars nor of the air. It is a fearful thing to hear what they prognosticated from dreams; but, in order to avoid scandal, I shall not relate what I could say upon this subject. Touching the planet Venus, which at one time they beheld setting, and at another rising, they said that the sun, as lord over all the stars, ordered that this, which was more beautiful than the others, should travel near him, sometimes in front, and at others behind.

called the phenomena of thunder by three names—*Chuqui-ylla, Catu-ylla*, and *Ynti-yllapa*. Their belief was that there was a man in the sky with a sling and a stick, and that in his power were the rain, the hail, the thunder, and all else that appertains to the regions of the air, where clouds are formed. Book v, chap. iv.

When the sun set, seeing it sink into the sea (for Peru, for its entire length, has the ocean to the westward), they said that on entering, by its fire and heat, it dried up a great portion of the water of the sea, and, like a swimmer, made a great dive under the earth, to rise next day in the east, thus making it to be understood that the earth was above the water. But they said nothing touching the setting either of the moon or of the stars. The Yncas had all these follies in their astronomy, from which it may be judged how slight was the knowledge they had attained; and this will suffice respecting their astronomy. We will now give an account of the medicines they used to cure their infirmities.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE MEDICINES THEY USED, AND THEIR MANNER OF EFFECTING CURES.

They had certainly attained to the knowledge that evacuation by bleeding and purging was a beneficial thing; and they bled from the arms and legs, but without understanding the use of leeches nor the position of veins for each disease. They opened the vein which was nearest to the position of the pain. When they felt a bad pain in the head, they bled between the eye-brows, just above the nose. The lancet was a pointed stone fixed into a cleft stick, to which it was fastened, so that it might not fall. They placed the point over a vein, and gave the end of the handle a fillip, and in this way they opened the vein with less pain than by the use of a common lancet. In the application of purgatives they knew nothing of the mode of examining the humours by the urine, nor did they look at it, nor did they know anything of heat, phlegm, or melancholy.

They usually purged when they felt overloaded and were in good health, but not when they were ill. They used (besides other roots which act as purgatives) certain white roots. They are like small rape seeds. They say that of these roots there are male and female, and they take as much of one as of the other, about two ounces of each, pounded. The powder is put in water, or in their drink, and taken, after which they sit in the sun, that its warmth may assist the medicine to operate. After about an hour they feel so giddy that they cannot stand. Their feelings are like those of sea sickness with persons who first go to sea. The head is attacked with giddiness, and there is a feeling, as if ants were crawling up the arms and legs, in the veins and arteries, and all over the body; and the evacuations are almost always by both ways. While this goes on the patient is quite faint and giddy, so that he who has not had experience of the effects of this root would think he was going to die. There is no desire to eat or drink, and the patient disgorges all the worms in his body. But when the medicine has finished working, the patient is left in such health, and with such an appetite, that he will eat anything that is given to him. They treated me with this medicine on two occasions, for pain in the stomach, and each time I experienced all that has been described above.*

* This root, according to Rivero, is called in Quichua *huachancana*, and belongs to a Euphorbiaceous plant. He says that when the Indians had a white tongue, they at once supposed that they had some bowel complaint, and recurred to this root, which is one of their universal remedies. Its drastic and emetic effects are very similar to that of tartar emetic. *Antig. Per.*, p. 122.

Mr. Bollaert purchased the wallet of a *Chirihuano* or itinerant native doctor in Southern Peru, and, amongst other drugs, of which he made a list, was a root called *huachanca*, said by him to be a convolvulus, used as a purgative. (Paper read at the Medico-Botanical Society of London, 1831.)

As in the time of the Yncas, so at the present day, the wallet of an itinerant Peruvian doctor (*Chirihuano*) contained the following drugs, in addition to the *huachancana* root:—

1. *Chacasoconche* bark.

These purges and bleedings were prescribed by those most experienced, who were generally old women (as midwives are here), and great herbalists. The herbalists were very famous in the time of the Yncas. They knew the uses of many herbs, and taught their knowledge to their children. These physicians were not employed to cure any one, but only the king, the royal family, the Curacas, and their relations. The common people had to cure each other from what they had heard concerning the remedies. When sucking infants were taken ill, especially if their ailment was of a feverish nature, they washed them in urine in the mornings, and, when they could get some of the urine of the child, they gave it a drink. When they cut the navel string, at the birth of the child, they left the cord as long as a finger, and when it fell off they preserved it with the greatest care, and gave it to the child to suck whenever it felt ill. To judge of an illness they looked at the tongue, and if it was white they said that the patient was ill. Then they gave him the umbilical cord to chew, and it must be his own, for that of another person was not considered efficacious.

2. *Chenchelcoma* (Salvia oppositiflora, R. P.)
3. *Chilca* (Baccharis scandens). For rheumatism.
4. *Chinapaya.*
5. *Chucumpa* (Justitia sericea, R. P.)
6. *Huacra-huacra* (a horn ?)
7. *Huarituru* (Valeriana coarctata). For broken bones.
8. *Llamap-ñaui* (Negretia inflexa).
9. *Ratańa* (Krameria triandria). An astringent.
10. *Masca.*
11. *Matecllu,* a water plant. Leaves used for sore eyes.
12. *Moho-moho* (seed ? of some plant).
13. *Mulli* (Schinus Molle). For wounds.
14. *Parhataquia* (Molina prostrata).
15. *Panqui* (Gunnera scabra, R. P.)
16. *Tasta* (Stereoxylon patens, R. P.). The buds are used for wounds.

Nearly the whole of these are perfectly harmless. For an account of the itinerant Indian doctors of Peru, called *Chirihuanos* and *Collahuayas,* see my work *Travels in Peru and India,* p. 247.

The natural secrets of these things were not told me, nor did I make any inquiries, but I saw these practices in operation. They knew nothing of feeling the pulse, and less about looking at the urine. They recognised a fever by the heightened colour of the body; and their purges and bleedings were more as preventives than as helps to recovery. When they had recognised that the disease was actually in full force, they gave no medicine whatever, they left nature to work its own cure, and merely regulated the diet. They did not understand the use of clysters, nor the application of plasters, nor ointments, except very few, and composed of very common things. The poor people treated diseases in a way differing little from the conduct of beasts. The shiverings of a fever and ague they called *Chucchu*, which means "to shake," and a remittent fever was *Russa* (*r* soft) which signifies "to burn." They feared these infirmities very much, because of the extremes of heat and cold.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE MEDICINAL HERBS THEY USED.

They understood the healing qualities of the juice and resin of a tree called *Mulli*, and by the Spaniards *Molle*. It is a thing worthy of attention that this extract has so wonderful an effect on fresh wounds, that it seems to be almost supernatural.* The herb or bush called *Chillca*,† heated in a clay vessel, has a marvellously healing effect on the joints, when the cold has got into them, and on horses with sprained legs. A root, like the root of a brake fern, only much thicker

* *Schinus molle*, Lin., the commonest tree in some parts of the Andes, especially round Cuzco and Guamanga. Acosta says that this tree possesses rare virtues (lib. iv, cap. 30). The Ynca gives a fuller account of it further on, in book viii.

† *Baccharis scandens*, common in the loftier valleys of the Andes.

and with smaller knots, the name of which I cannot recollect, served to strengthen and clean the teeth.* They roasted it to a cinder, and when it was very hot they pressed it on the teeth, putting one part on one side of the gums, and the other on the other, and left it there until it was cool. And so the patient went with his gums covered, and in great pain, for it burnt his mouth. The patient himself prepared and applied the remedy. They put it on at night, and in the morning they got up with the gums white like burnt meat. For three or four days afterwards the patient cannot eat anything that requires chewing, but is confined to feeding on slops with a spoon. At the end of that time the burnt flesh falls off from the gums, and underneath the new flesh appears very red and healthy. I have very often seen the gums renewed in this manner. I once tried it myself, without necessity, but dropped it because I could not endure the burning heat of the roots.

The Indians made great use of the herb of plants which they call *Sayri*, and the Spaniards tobacco. They applied the powder to their noses to clear the head. There has been much experience of the virtues of this plant in Spain, and it has been called the sacred herb. They knew of another plant which was most valuable for the eyes. It was called *Matecllu*, and was found in small streams. It is a foot long, and there is one round leaf at the end, like the plant called in Spain *Abbot's ear*,† which grows on roofs in the winter. The Indians eat it raw, and it has a pleasant taste. When it is mashed, and the juice placed on weak eyes in the night, and the same plant mashed and put as a poultice on the eyelids with a bandage on the top to prevent it from falling off, it has the effect of removing dimness, and easing any pain that may be felt.

* *Ractania* in Quichua. The plant is a geranium, growing on the lofty plains of the Collas. I found it near Lampa.

† Penny wort? A *Hydrocotyle*.

I once applied it to a boy, whose eye was so bloodshot and inflamed that the white could not be distinguished from the pupil, and the whole was starting out. On the first night of the application the eye was restored to its proper place, and on the second it was quite cured. Afterwards I saw the lad in Spain, and he told me he could see better out of that eye than out of the other. A Spaniard told me that he was quite blind from cataracts, and that in two nights he recovered his sight by using this herb. Hence, when he saw the herb, he desired to embrace and kiss it, and to place it over his eyes and on his head with signs of affection, for the blessing he had received through it in recovering his sight. My relations used many other herbs which I cannot now remember.

This was the medicinal treatment usually practised by the Indians-Yncas of Peru, using simple herbs, and not compound medicines. Thus in so important a subject as health they understood very little; and in matters which concerned them less, such as natural philosophy and astronomy, they knew less, and in theology still less. For they knew not how to raise their minds to invisible things. All the theology of the Yncas was included in the word *Pachacamac*. Since the arrival of the Spaniards, they have tried many experiments in medicinal products, especially with maize, called by the Indians *Sara*. These experiments arose partly from information given by the Indians, and partly from the philosophical researches of the Spaniards themselves. They have thus ascertained that this corn, besides being a substantial source of food, is very useful in diseases of the kidneys and liver, in stone and stoppage of the bladder. Few of the Indians ever suffer from these diseases, and their exemption is attributed to the use of the liquor made from maize, so the Spaniards, who suffer from these infirmities, drink it also. The Indians likewise apply it as a plaster for many other diseases.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THEIR KNOWLEDGE TOUCHING GEOMETRY, ARITHMETIC, AND MUSIC.

They had a good deal of knowledge of geometry, because it was necessary for them in measuring their lands, and for adjusting and settling the boundaries. But this was not done by measuring arcs in degrees, nor by any speculative method, but by their cords and small stones, with which they marked boundaries. I will not relate what I knew concerning them, because I did not fully understand their practices. With respect to geography, they understood very well how to paint and make models of each kingdom, and I have seen these models, with the towns and provinces depicted on them. I saw a model of Cuzco, with part of its province, and the four principal roads, made of clay and small stones and sticks. The model was according to scale, and showed the large and small squares, the streets, whether broad or narrow, the wards down to the most obscure houses, and the three streams which flow through the city. It was, indeed, a piece of work well worthy of admiration; as well as the model of the surrounding country, with its hills and valleys, ravines, and plateaux, rivers and streams with their windings, so well delineated that the best cosmographer in the world could not have done it better. They made this model that it might be seen by a person named Damian de la Bandera, who had a commission from the Royal Chancellery, to ascertain how many towns and Indians there were in the district of Cuzco. Other inspectors were sent to the other parts of the kingdom for the same purpose. The model which I saw was made at Muyna, a village called Molina by the Spaniards,

five leagues south of the city of Cuzco. I was there because, in that inspection, they visited a portion of the villages and Indians in the *repartimiento* of my lord Garcilasso de la Vega.

They knew a great deal of arithmetic, and had an admirable method by knots made on strings of different colours, of keeping an account of all the tributes in the kingdom of the Yncas, both paid and still due. They added up, and multiplied by these knots, and to know what portions referred to each village, they divided the strings by grains of maize or small stones, so that their calculation might be without confusion. As every subject, whether relating to peace or war, to vassals, tributes, flocks, laws, ceremonies, or any other department, had special accountants who studied their special branch of administration, the counting was performed with facility. For each item of an account was represented by knots or hanks, like loose leaves of a book; and, although an Indian (as chief accountant) may have had charge over two or three or more branches, the counting of each one was a department by itself. Further on we shall give a more detailed account of the manner of counting, and how they kept records by these strings and knots.*

In music they had acquired a knowledge of some tunes, which the Indians of the Collas district played on instruments made of hollow reeds, four or five being tied in a row, each one having the point higher than its neighbour, like an organ.† These canes were fastened in fours, different one from another. One of them ran in high notes, and the others each higher in the scale; so that the four natural voices, treble, tenor, contralto, and counter-bass were re-

* The Ynca enters more fully on the subject of the *quipus* in book vi.

† Called in their language *Huayra-puhura*. It was generally made of reeds, but sometimes of stone. The holes were cylindrical, regularly bored, and three-tenths of an inch in diameter to the bottom of the bore. *Rivero*.

presented by the four sets of reeds.* When an Indian played on one of these pipes, another answered on a fifth or any other note; then another played on another note, sometimes rising to the high notes, and at others going down, but always in tune. They did not understand accompaniments on different keys, but always played in one compass. The players were Indians instructed for the amusement of the king, and for the lords his vassals, and although their music was so simple, it was not generally practised, but was learnt and attained to by study. They had *la* flutes with four or five notes, like those of shepherds; but they were not made on a scale, each one being of only one note.† Their songs were composed in measured verses, and were for the most part written to celebrate amorous passions expressive now of joy now of sorrow, now of the kindness now of the cruelty of the fair.

Each song had its appropriate tune, and they could not put two different songs to the same tune. Thus the enamoured swain, playing his flute at night, with the tune that belonged to it, apprised the lady and the whole world

* The lengths of the eight canes were—

No. 1	. .	4·90 inches.
„ 2	. .	4·50 „
„ 3	. .	4·12 „
„ 4	. .	3·50 „
„ 5	. .	2·45 „
„ 6	. .	2·25 „
„ 7	. .	2· „
„ 8	. .	1·58 „

The canes Nos. 2, 4, 6, and 7 contained small lateral holes, forming a diapason divided into distinct tetrachords, and producing a melodious sound.

† Called in Quichua *pincullu*. They also had *chhilchiles* and *chanares* (timbrels and bells), *huancar* (a drum), *tinya* (a guitar of five or six chords), *queppa* (a trumpet), *ccuyvi* (a whistle), *huaylaca* (a flageolet), and *chayna* (another kind of coarse flute). The *chayna* emitted very lugubrious sounds, filling the heart with indescribable sadness, and bringing involuntary tears into the eyes. *Rivero.*

of the state of his feelings, arising from the smiles or frowns of the object of his love. But if two tunes were used for the same song, it could not be known what sentiment the lover wished to express; for it may be said that he talked with his flute. One night a Spaniard met an Indian girl of his acquaintance, and asked her to go with him to his lodging. The girl said—"Sir! let me go whither I desire; for know you not that that flute is calling me with much love and tenderness, so that it obliges me to go towards it. Leave me, then. I cannot help going, for love drags me to where the flute-player will be my husband, and I his wife."

They did not play the songs composed to celebrate their warlike deeds, because they were not fit to play before ladies, nor to express on their flutes. But they were sung at the principal festivals, in memory of their victories. When I departed from Peru in the year 1560, I left five Indians in Cuzco who played the flute very well, from any music book for the organ that was placed before them. They belonged to Juan Rodriguez de Villalobos, formerly a citizen of that town.* At present, being the year 1602, they tell me that there are so many Indians expert in playing on instruments, that they may be met with in all directions. In my time the Indians did not use their voices, because, no doubt, they were not sufficiently good, and because they did not understand singing; but, on the other hand, many mestizos had very good voices.

* Villalobos was a rich citizen of Cuzco who owned the site of the present monastery of San Francisco, which he handed over to the monks of that order. He married a sister of the wife of that famous rebel Giron.

Here there is an example of the ridiculous blunders made by old Rycaut, in attempting a translation of Garcilasso. He translates "*Eran de Juan Rodriguez de Villalobos, vicino que fue de aquella ciudad*" into "They belonged to one Juan Rodriguez, who lived at a village called Labos, not far from the city"!!!

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE POETRY OF THE YNCAS AMAUTAS, WHO ARE PHILOSOPHERS, AND HARAVICUS OR POETS.

The *Amautas*, who were philosophers, were not wanting in ability to compose comedies and tragedies, which were represented before their kings on solemn festivals, and before the lords of their court. The actors were not common people, but Yncas and noblemen, sons of Curacas, or the Curacas themselves, down to masters of the camp. For the subject matter of the tragedy should, it was considered, be properly represented, as it always related to military deeds, triumphs, and victories, or to the grandeur of former kings and of other heroic men. The arguments of the comedies were on agriculture and familiar household subjects. As soon as the play was over, the actors seated themselves in their places according to their rank. They did not allow improper or vile farces; but all the plays were on decorous and important subjects, the sentences being such as befitted the occasion. Valuable presents were given to those persons who were deemed worthy of taking parts.

They had made some further advance in poetry, for they understood the composition of long and short verses, with the right number of syllables in each. Their love songs were composed in this way, with different tunes. They also recorded the deeds of their kings in verse, and those of other famous Yncas and Curacas, which they taught to their children, and they were thus handed down by tradition, that the good deeds of their ancestors might be had in memory and imitated. The verses were few, that they might the more easily be committed to memory; but, when preserved in cipher, they were compendious. They did not

use rhymes in the verses, but all were blank. Most of them resembled the Spanish compositions called *redondillas*. I have preserved in my memory a love song in four lines, by which the mode of composition may be seen, as well as the concise yet full meaning of what, in their simplicity, they desired to say. The love verses were short, that the tunes might easily be played on the flute. I might also have given the tune, in notes set to organ music, that both might be seen, but the folly of it will excuse me from taking the trouble.

The song is as follows, with the translation :—

Caylla lapi		To this my song
Puñunqui.	which means	You will sleep.
Chaupi tuta		In dead of night
Hamusac.		I will come.*

Or more properly without the pronoun *I*, for the Indians do not name the pronoun, but include it in the verb. The Ynca poets had many other metres for the verses, especially the Harauecs, the proper meaning of whose name is "an inventor."† In the papers of Blas Valera I found other verses, which he calls spondaics, all of which are in four syllables, and differing in this respect from the above, which is in four and three. He wrote them in Indian and Latin. They are on the subject of astrology, and the Ynca poets treated of the secondary causes with which God acts in the region of the air, to cause lightning and thunder, hail, snow, and rain, all of which are referred to in the verses. They

* *Cay* (this), *llapi* (a song). *Puñunqui* (second person singular, future indicative of *Puñuni*, "I sleep"). *Chaupi* (middle), *tuta* (night). *Hamusac* (first person future indicative of *Hamuni*, "I come").

† This meaning is now lost. *Harahuini* is simply "I sing;" *Harahuec*, a singer or poet; and *Harahui* or *Yaravy*, a song or elegy.

Mr. Prescott, with reference to the Ynca's statement that *Harahuec* signified an inventor, observes :—"In his title, as well as in his functions, the Peruvian minstrel poet may remind us of the Norman *trouvère*." I, p. 114 (note).

wrote them in accordance with a fable, which was as follows: They say that the Creator placed a maiden, the daughter of a king, in the sky, who holds a vase full of water, to pour out when the earth requires it. Occasionally her brother is supposed to break it, and the blow causes thunder, lightning, and thunderbolts. They say that these are caused by a man, because they are the deeds of a ferocious man, and not of a tender woman. But the maiden causes the snow, hail and rain to fall, because they are more kind and gentle acts, and produce great benefits. It was said that an Ynca poet and astrologer composed and recited the verses, praising the virtue and excellence of the lady, and shewing how God had given her these qualities, that she might do good to the creatures of this earth. Father Blas Valera says that the fable and verses were found by him in knots recording certain ancient annals, and that they were of different colours. He received the meaning from the Indian accountants who had charge of the historical records in knots; and, being astonished that the Amautas should have attained to such proficiency in their records, he wrote down the verses, and also committed them to memory. I remember having heard this fable in my childhood, with many others that were recounted by my relations, but, being then a boy, I did not seek for an explanation of them, nor did they give me one. For the use of those who understand neither the Indian language nor Latin, I have ventured to translate them into Spanish. I have made the translation from the language I sucked in with my mother's milk, and not from the Latin; because the little I know of that language was learnt amidst the fires of my country's wars, amongst arms and horses, powder and guns, of which I knew more than of letters. The Father Blas Valera, in his Latin, has imitated the four syllables of the Indian language in each verse, and he has done it very well. I have not done so, because this rule cannot be preserved in Spanish. As it is necessary to give

the complete meaning of the Indian words in Spanish, some necessarily have more syllables, and some less. *Ñusta* means a maiden of the blood royal, and no baser signification can be given to the word, for an ordinary maiden is *Tazqui*. A servant girl is called *China*.* *Yllapantac* is a verb comprehending in its meaning the three verbs "to thunder," "to lighten," "to cause bolts to fall." And so it has been expressed by the Father Blas Valera in two verses. The preceding verse is *Cunuñunun*, which means "to make a noise," and this was not used by the author to express the three meanings of the verb *Yllapantac*. *Unu* is "water," *para* is "to rain," *chichi* "to hail," *riti* "to snow." *Pacha Camac* means "He who does with the universe what the body does with the soul." *Viracocha* is the name of a modern god they worshipped, whose history will be given further on. *Chura* is "to put," *cama* "to give a soul life, being, sustenance." The verses are as follows, in the three languages:—

Sumac† ñusta	Pulchra nympha	Beautiful maiden
Turallayqui‡	Frater tuus	Thy brother
Puyñuyquita§	Urnam tuam	Thine urn
Paquin cayan‖	Nunc infingit	Is now breaking.
Hinamantara¶	Cujus ictus	And for this cause
Cunuñunan**	Tonat fulget	It thunders and lightens
Yllapantac††	Fulminatque	Thunderbolts also fall.
Camri ñusta‡‡	Sed tu nympha	But thou, royal maiden

* *China* is the female, and *Urco* the male, for quadrupeds.

† *Sumac*, an adjective, beautiful.

‡ *Tura* is the brother of a sister; *lla*, a term of affection; *yqui*, a final possessive pronoun—"thy."

§ *Puyñu*, a small cup; *yquita*, accusative of the final possessive pronoun.

‖ *Paquin*, third person singular present indicative of *Paquini* (I break). *Cayan*, probably a misprint for *Cunan* (now).

¶ *Hina*, so; *mantara*, for this.

** *Cunuñunan*, defective verb, "it thunders."

†† *Yllapantac*, defective verb, "it thunders and lightens."

‡‡ *Cam*, you; *ri*, but.

Unuyquita*	Tuam limpham	With thy clear waters
Paramunquic†	Fundens pluis	Dropping rain
May ñimpiri‡	Interdumque	And sometimes also
Chichimunquic§	Grandinem, seu	Will give us hail
Ritimunquic‖	Nivem mittis	Will give us snow
Pacha ruraq¶	Mundi factor	The creator of the world
Pacha camac	Pachacamac;	Pachacamac
Viracocha	Viracocha	Viracocha
Cay hinapac**	Ad hoc munus	For this duty
Churasunquiꝉ	Te sufficit	Has appointed you
Camasunqui	Ac præfecit	Has created you.

I have inserted these verses to enrich my poor history, for, without flattery, it may truly be said that all that Father Blas Valera has written consists of pearls and precious stones, such as my country has not deserved to be adorned with.

They tell me that in these days the Mestizos are very fond of composing songs in the Indian language, as well sacred as profane. May God give them grace, that he may be served in all that is done.

Such was the knowledge that the Yncas of Peru had acquired in the above sciences; and slight and superficial as it is, they would, if they had had letters, have gone on adding to it little by little, as did the ancient philosophers. But in moral philosophy they had attained to a high standard, as well in their laws and customs touching the dealings of their vassals between man and man in conformity with

* *Unu*, water; *yquita*, see note §.

† *Para*, rain; *munquic*, present participle of *Munquini* (I drop).

‡ *May*, where; *ñimpiri*, sometimes.

§ and ‖ see note ‡.

¶ *Ruraq*, present participle of *Rurani* (I make); *Pacha*, earth.

** *Cay*, this; *hinapac*, to duty, a dative case.

ꝉ *Churasunqui*, the second transition of *Churani* (I put). It is the transition of the third person to the second (*sunqui*). *Sunqui* is the second transitive particle. See my *Quichua Grammar*, p. 50.

natural law, as in the duties of obedience and service to the king, and in those of the king to do good to the vassals and others his inferiors. In their practice of this science they made such progress that scarcely any improvement could be suggested in it. Their experience in administration was handed down to their descendants, and was thus progressively increased; but in the other sciences they were without this experience. For they could not treat them so practically as the moral sciences, nor could they devote so much speculation to their study as was necessary. They were contented with the natural life and law, being a people more inclined to do no ill, than to learn what is right. Pedro de Cieza de Leon treats of this subject in his thirty-eighth chapter. Speaking of the government of the Yncas he says:—"They performed such great deeds, and ruled with such wisdom, that few in the world ever excelled them."* And the Father Acosta (book vi, cap. 1) says what follows in praise of the Yncas and of the Mexicans.

"Having treated of the religion of the Indians, I propose in this book to write an account of their customs, policy, and government, for two reasons. One is to refute the false opinion usually entertained of them, that they were those of a savage and brutish people without understanding, and scarcely worthy of the name of policy and government. This error has led to the Indians being treated with great and notable oppression, as if they were little better than animals, and to their being deprived of all respect and consideration. It is a vulgar and pernicious error, as is known to those who have inquired into the condition of the Indians with some care and attention, and, by associating with them, have seen and become acquainted with their secrets and their knowledge; and who have also seen the small account which those who think they know much about them (such men

* See my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 136.

being usually those who know least) make of the Indians. I see no better way of dispelling this most pernicious opinion than by giving an account of the order and government of the Indians when they lived under their own laws. Although they practised many barbarous and absurd things, they also had other customs which are worthy of admiration, and which show that they had a natural capacity for instruction. Indeed, many of their customs have the advantage of those of the nations of the old world. Nor is it wonderful that they should have mingled grave errors with those good customs, for such are found in the works of the greatest philosophers and legislators, even including those of Lycurgus and Plato. In the wisest republics, such as those of Rome and Athens, we find instances of ignorance which are worthy of laughter, and assuredly if the governments of the Mexicans and of the Yncas are compared with those of the Romans and Grecians, they would still be admired. But, without knowing anything of this, we enter with the sword, and neither listen to nor understand the condition of the people. The affairs of the Indians do not appear to us to merit attention, but we rather treat them like wild beasts of the chase, to be caught for our use and service. Those curious and learned men who have investigated the secrets of the Indians, and their ancient mode of government, judge of them in a very different way, and are astonished at the advances they had made in civilisation." So far is from Father Josè de Acosta, whose authority stands so high that it will serve to confirm all that we have said and shall hereafter say of the laws, government, and understanding of the Yncas; and that one of their practices was to compose brief fables, as well in prose as in verse, conveying moral doctrines, or preserving some tradition of their idolatry or of the famous deeds of their kings and of other great men. Many of the Spaniards contend that these are not fables but true histories, because they have some resemblance to the truth. Others

declare them to be badly conceived falsehoods, because they cannot understand the allegories conveyed in them; although it is true that many were most absurd. In the course of the history we shall insert some of the best of these traditions.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF THE FEW INSTRUMENTS WHICH THE INDIANS USED FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES.

Now that we have given an account of the advances that the philosophers and poets of that heathen time had made in the sciences, it will be well to show how unskilful their mechanics were in their crafts, that it may be seen how much inconvenience and misery these people had to endure. To begin with the workers in metals: although they were so numerous, and so constantly exercising their calling, they knew not how to make an anvil, either of iron or of anything else, and they could not extract iron, though there were mines of that metal in their land. In their language they call iron *quillay*. They used certain very hard stones, of a colour between green and yellow, instead of anvils. They flattened and smoothed one against the other, and held them in great estimation because they were very rare. Nor could they make hammers with wooden handles. But they worked with certain instruments made of copper and brass mixed together. These tools were of the shape of dice with the corners rounded off. Some are large, so that the hand can just clasp them, others middling sized, others small, and others lengthened out to hammer on a concave. They hold these hammers in their hands to strike with, as if they were pebbles.* They had no files nor graving tools, nor had they invented the art of making bellows for blast furnaces. They

* The Quichua for a hammer is *tacana*.

blasted by means of tubes of copper, the length of half-a-cubit, more or less, according as the furnace was large or small. The tubes were closed at one end, leaving one small hole through which the air could rush with more force. As many as eight, ten, or twelve of these were put together, according to the requirements of the furnace; and they went round the fire blowing with the tubes. They still use the same method, not being willing to change their customs. They had no tongs for drawing the metal out of the fire, but did this with poles of wood or copper, and threw the heated metal on small heaps of damp earth which they had ready, to cool it. They drew it from one heap to another, until it was cool enough to hold in their hands. Notwithstanding these inconvenient contrivances, they executed marvellous works, chiefly in hollowing things out, and doing other admirable things, as we shall see presently.* They also found out, in spite of their simplicity, that the smoke of certain metals was injurious to the health, and they consequently made their foundries in the open air, in their yards and courts, and never under a roof. Their carpenters had no more ingenuity than their smiths, for of all the tools used by our artificers they had only invented the axe and the adze, and even these were of copper. They knew not how to make a saw, a gimlet,† nor a plane, nor, indeed, any other carpenter's tools; and they could not make arches, nor cut and plane wood for buildings. The axes, adzes, and a few bill-hooks served them in place of all other tools, and these were made of copper and bronze. They had no nails, and all the wood they used in their houses was fastened with thongs of reed, and not nailed together. Their quarrymen used black pebbles, called *hihuanas*,‡ for working the stones,

* They could melt metals, cast them in moulds, inlay them, solder them, and hammer.

† They had gimlets and chisels of bronze. Their word for a gimlet was *hutccu*. Mossi, No. 133.

‡ Or *hihuayas*. The *n* is probably a misprint. *Hihuaya* means a heavy stone. *Hihuaya soncco* is "disobedient."

rubbing instead of cutting them. They had no machinery for raising and lowering blocks of stone, but all was done by main force. Nevertheless, they completed works of such ingenuity and grandeur as to be almost incredible, as the Spanish historians declare at large, and as may be seen by the numerous ruins that still remain. They had not invented scissors nor metal needles, but used long thorns, and consequently they did not sew much. Their needle-work was rather patching than sewing, as we shall relate further on. They made combs of the same thorns, fastening them into two reeds, which formed the back of the comb. The mirrors in which the ladies of the blood royal looked at themselves were of polished silver, and the more common ones of bronze, for ordinary women were not allowed to use silver, as will be seen presently. Men never looked into a mirror, as it was considered a shameful and effeminate proceeding. They also wanted many other things necessary for civilised life, for they were not at all inventive, although they were apt at imitation, as has been seen in the way they have learnt, and taken advantage of many things taught them by the Spaniards. They show the same readiness in learning the sciences if they are instructed, as has been seen in the comedies which have been acted in various parts. Certain ingenious monks of different habits, principally of the company of Jesus, to make the Indians familiar with the mysteries of our religion, have composed comedies for the Indians to act, because they knew that this was the custom in the time of the Yncas, and because they saw that the Indians were so ready to receive instruction. Thus a father of the company of Jesus composed a play in honour of our lady the Virgin Mary. It was written in the Aymara language, which is

The blocks of stone, after having been shaped by the *hihuaya*, received a last polish with herbs which contain flint, *Hippuris hyemalis*. The native names for the plants used by the quarry men, in putting a final polish on the stones, were *Aracchama* and *Ynca-cuca*.

different from the general language of Peru. The subject had reference to these words in the third chapter of Genesis —"I will place enmity between thee and the woman, etc., and she shall break thy head." The actors were Indian lads, and the ceremony took place in a village called Sulli. At Potosi a dialogue of the faith was enacted, at which more than twelve thousand Indians were present. In Cuzco another play was acted touching the infancy of Jesus, which was witnessed by all the nobility of the city. Another was acted in the City of the Kings, before the Chancellery, the nobility, and a vast crowd of Indians. The subject was the most holy sacrament, composed in pieces, in two languages —Spanish and the general language of Peru. The Indian lads repeated the dialogues with so much grace, feeling, and correct action that they gave universal satisfaction and pleasure; and with so much plaintive softness in the songs, that many Spaniards shed tears of joy at seeing the ability and skill of the little Indians. From that time the Spaniards disabused themselves of the opinion which they had held until then, that the Indians were dull, barbarous, and stupid.

The Indian boys, to commit their parts to memory, which are written down, go to the Spaniards, either laymen or priests, and beg them to read the first line to them four or five times over, until they remember it; and that they may not forget it, although their memories are tenacious, they repeat each word many times, marking it with a sign, for which purpose they use little pebbles, or a grain of the seeds of different colours, the size of beans, called *chuy*. By means of these signs they remember the words, and in this way they easily learn what they have to say by heart, through the great diligence and care they devote to the task. The Spaniards whom the little Indians ask to read to them do not disdain the work, but rather take a pleasure in it, how great so ever they may be, knowing for what purpose it is. Thus the

Indians of Peru, though not apt at inventing, are very quick in imitating, and learning what they are taught. The Licentiate Juan de Cuellar, a native of Medina del Campo, who was Canon of the holy church of Cuzco, experienced this fully. He read grammar with the mestizos, sons of wealthy and noble citizens of that town. He undertook this work out of charity, and, at the request of the students themselves, because five preceptors, whom they had learnt from before, had forsaken them after a few months of study, thinking to make more money in other ways; although it is true that each student paid them ten dollars a month, equal to twelve ducats. But there were few students, not more than eighteen at the most. Among these I knew an Indian Ynca, named Felipe Ynca. He was taught by a rich and worthy priest, named Pedro Sanchez, who, seeing the quickness of the Indian in learning to read and write, gave him instruction; and he acquired as good a knowledge of grammar as the best student amongst the mestizos. When the preceptor forsook them, they continued to go to school until another came who taught them on a different principle, and if they retained anything of what they had learnt before, he told them to forget it, as it was worth nothing. Thus were the students passed from one teacher to another, in my time, without receiving any benefit, until the good Canon took them under his cloak, and read Latin with them for nearly two years, amidst arms and horses, blood and the flames of a war which then raged against the insurgents Don Sebastian de Castilla and Francisco Hernandez Giron. One of these fires was scarcely put out, before the second burnt up, which was worse, and took longer to extinguish. During that time the Canon Cuellar saw how much aptitude his scholars displayed in learning grammar and the sciences. Lamenting that he should lose such good disciples, he often said,—"O Sons! what a pity it is that a dozen of you should not be in the university of Salamanca." I have related all this to show the

ability of the Indians in acquiring learning, in which the mestizos, as their relations, participated. The Canon Juan de Cuellar did not leave his scholars perfect in Latin, for he could not go through the labour of reading four lessons every day, besides assisting at the services of the choir, and thus they remained imperfectly instructed in the Latin language. Those who are now living ought to give thanks to God for having sent the company of Jesus, among whom there is such an abundant knowledge of the sciences, and of the teaching of them, which the Indians now possess and enjoy.

With this it will be well that we should return to the narrative of the succession of the king's Yncas and of their conquests.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THIRD BOOK

OF THE

ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE YNCAS.

IT CONTAINS THE LIFE AND ACTS OF MAYTA CCAPAC, FOURTH KING; THE FIRST OSIER BRIDGE THAT WAS MADE IN PERU; AND THE ADMIRATION IT CAUSED; THE LIFE AND CONQUESTS OF THE FIFTH KING, CALLED CCAPAC YUPANQUI; THE FAMOUS BRIDGE OF RUSHES AND STRAW THAT HE ORDERED TO BE PLACED OVER THE DESAGUADERO; A DESCRIPTION OF THE HOUSE AND TEMPLE OF THE SUN, AND OF ITS GREAT RICHES.

THE BOOK CONTAINS TWENTY-FIVE CHAPTERS.

THE THIRD BOOK

CHAPTER I.

MAYTA CCAPAC, THE FOURTH YNCA, ANNEXES TIAHUANACU. OF THE EDIFICES THAT WERE FOUND THERE.

THE Ynca Mayta Ccapac (whose name cannot be interpreted, for the word *Mayta* is a proper name, and has no meaning whatever in the general language, and the signification of *Ccapac* has already been explained) having completed the obsequies of his father, and solemnly taken possession of the kingdom, commenced a journey through it as its absolute king. For, although he had visited its provinces on two occasions during the lifetime of his father, yet he had then been under pupilage, and was unable to hear complaints or decide upon them, nor to grant favours without the presence and consent of those of his Council, who prompted the replies to petitions, and the sentences and judgments that the prince had to pronounce, although he was the heir; for this was the law of the kingdom. But when he found himself free of masters and tutors, he desired to visit his vassals in the provinces again. For, as has been already mentioned, this was one of the things which were done by these princes, as most pleasing to their subjects. In order to display the liberality, magnanimity, gentleness, and love which animated his mind, he made this journey, and granted very great favours, as well to the Curacas as to the common people.

Having completed his inspection, he turned his mind to the principal object of the policy of these Yncas, which was to draw barbarous tribes from vain and idolatrous practices, thus gratifying their ambition and enriching their kingdom.

For one or the other object, or for both, for the powerful are influenced by both, he ordered an army to be collected, and, on the approach of spring, he set out with twelve thousand men of war, four masters of the camp, and the other officers and ministers. He marched to the *desaguadero* (drain) of the great lake of Titicaca, because, as the whole land of the Collao is a plain, it appeared to be more easy to conquer than any other land whatever. The natives also seemed to be more simple and tractable.

On reaching the Desaguadero he ordered great *balsas* to be made, on which his army passed over, and he sent the usual demand, which need not be repeated again, to the first villages he came to. The Indians readily obeyed, by reason of the wonderful things they had heard of the Yncas, and amongst other places that submitted, was one called Tiahuanacu, concerning the grand and wonderful edifices of which it will be well that we should say something. Among other marvellous things at this place there is a hill, made artificially, and so high that the fact of its having been made by man causes astonishment; and that it might not be loosened, it was built upon great foundations of stone. It is not known why this edifice was made. In another part, away from the hill, there were two figures of giants carved in stone, with long robes down to the ground, and caps on their heads; all well worn by the hand of time, which proves their great antiquity. There was also an enormous wall of stones, so large that the greatest wonder is caused to imagine how human force could have raised them to the place where they now are. For there are no rocks nor quarries within a great distance, from whence they could have been brought. In other parts there are grand edifices, and what causes most astonishment are the great doorways of masonry, some of them made out of one single stone. The marvel is increased by their wonderful size, for some of them were found to measure thirty feet in length, fifteen in breadth, and six in

depth. And these stones, with their doorways, are all of one single piece, so that it cannot be understood with what instruments or tools they can have been worked.

The natives say that all these edifices were built before the time of the Yncas, and that the Yncas built the fortress of Cuzco in imitation of them. They know not who erected them, but have heard their forefathers say that all these wonderful works were completed in a single night. The ruins appear never to have been finished, but to have been merely the commencement of what the founders intended to have built. All the above is from Pedro de Cieza de Leon, in his one hundred and fifth chapter; to which I propose to add some further particulars, obtained from a schoolfellow of mine, a priest named Diego de Alcobasa (whom I may call my brother, for we were born in the same house, and his father brought me up). Amongst other accounts, which he and others have sent me from my native land, he says the following respecting these great edifices of Tiahuanacu:—"In Tiahuanacu, in the province of Collao, amongst other things, there are some ancient ruins worthy of immortal memory. They are near the lake called by the Spaniards Chucuito, the proper name of which is Chuquivitu. Here there are some very grand edifices, and amongst them there is a square court, fifteen *brazas* each way, with walls two stories high. On one side of this court there is a hall forty-five feet long by twenty-two broad, apparently once covered, in the same way as those buildings you have seen in the house of the sun at Cuzco, with a roof of straw. The walls, roofs, floor, and doorways are all of one single piece, carved out of a rock, and the walls of the court and of the hall are three-quarters of a yard in breadth. The roof of the hall, though it appears to be thatch, is really of stone. For as the Indians cover their houses with thatch, in order that this might appear like the rest, they have ombed and carved the stone so that it resembles a roof of thatch. The waters of the lake wash the

walls of the court. The natives say that this and the other buildings were dedicated to the Creator of the universe. There are also many other stones carved into the shape of men and women so naturally that they appear to be alive, some drinking with cups in their hands, others sitting, others standing, and others walking in the stream which flows by the walls. There are also statues of women with their infants in their laps, others with them on their backs, and in a thousand other postures. The Indians say that for the great sins of the people of those times, and because they stoned a man who was passing through the province, they were all converted into these statues."

Thus far are the words of Diego de Alcobasa, who has been a vicar and preacher to the Indians in many provinces of this kingdom, having been sent by his superiors from one part to another: for, being a mestizo and native of Cuzco, he knows the language of the Indians better than others who are born in the country, and his labours bear more fruit.*

CHAPTER II.

HATUNPACASA IS REDUCED, AND THEY CONQUER CAC-YAVIRI.

Returning to the proceedings of Mayta Ccapac, it must be known that, almost without resistance, he conquered the greater part of the province of Hatunpacasa, which is the country on the left bank of the Desaguadero.† Whether

* See my translation of Cieza de Leon, chapter cv, page 374; *Antiguedades Peruanas*, p. 295; Acosta, vi, p. 419, and other authorities quoted in my notes to the hundred and fifth chapter of Cieza de Leon.

See also Mr. Fergusson's remarks on the ruins at Tiahuanaco, in his *History of Architecture*, ii, p. 775.

† As the Desaguadero flows *out* of the lake of Titicaca, the left bank is on the eastern side.

this was done in one campaign or in several is a moot point amongst the Indians, but most of them will have it that the Yncas extended their sway by little and little, instructing their vassals as they proceeded. Others say that this policy was only adopted at first, when they were not powerful; but that afterwards they conquered all the countries they could reach. It matters little which of these be the correct view. It will be better to avoid the prolixity caused by repeating the same things many times; and we shall, therefore, state at once the territories acquired by each king, without becoming tedious by describing the different campaigns. Advancing in his conquests; then, the Ynca came to a place called Cac-yaviri,* where there were many groups of houses scattered over the country, without being collected into towns; and in each one there was a petty chief who ruled over the rest of the people. All these chiefs, on hearing that the Ynca was coming to conquer them, assembled their people, and retired to a hill in that district, which was high, and round like a sugar loaf, all the surrounding country being flat. The Indians looked upon this hill as sacred, from its beauty, and because it stood alone, and they worshipped it and offered up sacrifices to it. They took refuge upon it in the hope that, being their god, it would protect them from their enemies. They built a stone fort upon it with clods of earth instead of mortar, and it is related that the women had to place all the clods while the men brought up the stones. The Indians then entered the fort in great numbers, with their wives and children, and all the provisions they could collect.

The Ynca sent them the usual summons, adding particularly that he had not come to take away their lives or property, but to confer upon them the benefits which the Sun had ordered him to offer to the Indians, and that they should

* This is the country to the south of lake Titicaca, between the river Desaguadero and the modern city of La Paz.

not resist his children, who were invincible. He added that the Sun had assisted him in all his conquests and battles, and that they should receive the Sun as their god. The Ynca sent this message to the Indians many times, who always resisted his appeals, saying that they already had a good way of living, and did not wish to improve it; that they had their own gods, one of whom was that mountain which they had fortified, and which would protect them; that the Ynca should go in peace, and teach those who desired it, for that they did not wish to learn. The Ynca, who had no wish to give them battle, but rather to reduce them by hunger, if he could do so in no other way, divided his army into four parts, and surrounded the hill.

The Collas continued for many days in their determination to resist, and, seeing that the Yncas did not wish to fight, they attributed it to cowardice. This increased their audacity, and from day to day they came out of the fort to fight; the besiegers, in obedience to the orders of the Ynca, not doing more than defend themselves, although many were killed on both sides. It was a common report amongst the Indians of the Collao, which was afterwards spread by the Yncas over the whole empire, that, one day, when the besieged Indians came out to fight the soldiers of the Ynca, their stones, arrows, and other missiles, which they shot against their enemies, came back and struck those who had shot them off, and that thus many Collaos were killed with their own arms. Further on we shall explain this fable, which is among those which they venerate most. Owing to the great slaughter on that day the besieged Indians surrendered, and the Curacas, repenting of their obstinacy, collected all their people and came out to pray for mercy. The children were made to march first, then their mothers, and then the old people. Next came the soldiers, and last came the chiefs and Curacas with their hands tied, and ropes round their necks, in token of having deserved death for fighting

against the child of the Sun. They were barefooted, for this was a sign of humility amongst the Indians of Peru; and it was intended to show that there was great majesty and divinity in him whom they desired to reverence.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDIANS WHO SURRENDERED ARE PARDONED. EXPLANATION OF THE FABLE.

Being brought before the Ynca, they threw themselves on the ground and adored him, with great acclamations, as a child of the Sun. The common people having done this, the Curacas arrived, and with the veneration that they are accustomed to show, addressed the Ynca thus—"We entreat your majesty to pardon these people, and if it is desirable that more should die, we shall consider our own deaths to be fortunate if these soldiers can be spared, for we gave them a bad example in resisting the Ynca." They also prayed for pardon for the women, old men, and children, who had committed no crime. The chiefs said that they alone were criminal, and that, therefore, they should atone for all.

The Ynca received them, seated on his chair, and surrounded by his warriors; and having heard the address of the Curacas, he ordered that their hands should be untied, and the ropes removed from their necks, in token of the pardon that he had granted them. He then, with kind words, told them that he had not come to take their lives and property, but to do them good, to teach them to lead reasonable lives according to the law of nature, and, abandoning idols, to worship the Sun as god, to whom they were indebted for this forgiveness. He then granted their lands and vassals to them afresh, without other condition than that they should rule beneficently. They were then ordered to return to their

houses and obey the commands they might receive; and that they might be more fully assured of their pardon, and of the kindness of the Ynca, he directed that the Curacas, in the name of all the people, should touch his right knee, as a sign that they were his people, seeing that he had permitted them to touch his person. This favour was highly esteemed, for it was a sacrilege for any one to touch the Ynca, who was one of their gods, except those of the blood royal, or those who received permission to do so. Seeing the pious disposition of the Ynca, the conquered people felt no fear that they would receive the punishment they had expected; and the Curacas, again throwing themselves on the ground, declared that they would be faithful vassals to merit so many favours, and that, both in words and deeds his majesty had proved himself to be a child of the Sun, having shown unheard of mercy to a people who deserved death.

With regard to the fable, the Yncas say that its history is as follows. When the officers of the Ynca's army saw the audacity of the Collas, which increased every day, they secretly ordered their soldiers to be prepared to fight with them by fire and sword, and with all the rigour of war, it being impossible to suffer so much insolence towards the Ynca. The Collas came out, as was their wont, to make their attack, careless of the anger of their enemies, and were received with such fury that most of them were killed. Then, as hitherto the Yncas had not fought with a view to killing, but only to defend themselves, the Collas thought that the same thing had happened on this occasion, but that the Sun, unable to endure these insults to his child, had commanded that their own arms should turn against them and punish them, the Yncas not wishing to do so. The Indians, being so simple, believed this to be the case because the Yncas, who were held to be children of the Sun, affirmed it. The *Amautas*, who were the philosophers, allegorised this fable, saying that, as the Collas would not lay down their

arms and obey the Ynca when they received his summons, their own arms had turned against them, for their arms were the cause of their deaths.

CHAPTER IV.

THEY REDUCE THREE PROVINCES AND CONQUER OTHERS.—THEY FORM COLONIES.—THOSE WHO USE POISON ARE PUNISHED.

This fable, and the act of piety and clemency on the part of the Prince, were noised abroad amongst the nations bordering on Hatun-pacasa, where the act was performed; and caused so much wonder and admiration that many tribes voluntarily came under the dominion of the Ynca Mayta Ccapac, and reverenced him as a child of the Sun. Amongst other nations that promised obedience, were three great provinces, very rich in flocks and inhabited by a warlike race, called Cauquicura, Malloma, and Huarina,* where the bloody battle was afterwards fought between Gonzalo Pizarro and Diego Centeno.† The Ynca, having granted favours, as well to the conquered tribes as to those who submitted of their own accord, crossed the Desaguadero, and returned towards Cuzco. From Hatun-colla he sent an army, with the four masters of the camp, towards the west, with orders to cross the uninhabited country called Hatun-puna‡ (to the verge of which the army of the Ynca Lloque Yupanqui had advanced), and to reduce to his service the nations that might be found on the other side, as far as the shores of the South Sea. The Ynca gave orders that, under no circumstances,

* These places are all near the southern shore of lake Titicaca.

† On the 26th of October, 1547. The Ynca gives a full account of this battle in the second part of his *Commentaries*. See also Prescott, ii, p. 349.

‡ *Hatun*, great; and *puna*, a lofty uninhabited tract.

should his officers offer battle, and that, if they met with people so stubborn and obstinate as not to desire to submit, except by force of arms, they were to leave them, for that such barbarians would lose more than the Ynca would gain. With these orders, and a large supply of provisions, the captains commenced their march, and crossed the snowy Cordillera with some difficulty, by reason of the absence of a road, and because there are thirty leagues of uninhabited country in that direction. They reached a province called Cuchuna,* with a scattered though numerons population. The natives, on hearing of the approach of the army, built a fort, and took refuge in it, with their wives and children. The Yncas surrounded it, and, in obedience to the orders of the King, they did not wish to attack it, but offered the garrison peace and friendship, which were refused.

The two forces remained, facing each other, for more than fifty days, during which time there were many occasions on which the Yncas might have done much injury to their opponents, but, following out their ancient policy, and in obedience to the express orders of the King, they desired rather to straiten them by the blockade, than to fight them. On the other hand, the besieged were pressed by hunger, for they had not had time to collect a sufficient supply of provisions, owing to the sudden approach of the Yncas, and they had not anticipated so long a siege. The elder people, men and women, bore the hunger with courage, but the boys and children could not endure it, and went out into the fields to seek for herbs. Many went over to the enemy, and their parents consented, because they could not bear to see them die before their eyes. The Yncas received them and gave them food, and a small quantity to take to their parents, together with the usual offer of peace and

* I cannot identify this place, but it is probably in the mountains above Moquegua. Further on it is said to be fifteen miles from Moquegua.

amity. On seeing all this, the besieged, having no hope of succour, agreed to surrender unconditionally, as it seemed to them that those who had been so merciful and kind to rebels, would be much more so to humble penitents. Thus they submitted to the will of the Yncas, who received them with affability and without any show of anger. They offered them friendship, gave them food, and undeceived them, explaining that the Ynca, as a child of the Sun, did not desire to acquire land for the purpose of tyrannizing, but to do good to the inhabitants, according to the commands of his father the Sun. That they might know this by experience, the Yncas gave clothes and other gifts to the chiefs, and food to the people, so that all returned to their homes well satisfied.

The Ynca captains reported all that had taken place in this conquest, and applied for colonists to people two towns in that province, for the land appeared to be fertile, and capable of supporting many more inhabitants than it then contained. It was also proposed to leave a garrison there to retain what had been acquired, and to be ready for any event that might happen hereafter. The Ynca sent the required men, with their wives and children, to people two towns, one at the foot of the mountains where the natives had built a fort; this place was called Cuchuna, which was the name of the mountain. The other town was called Moquehua.* One was five leagues from the other, and now the two provinces take the names of these towns, and are within the jurisdiction of Colla-suyu. While the captains were engaged in establishing an orderly government, they learnt that, amongst these Indians, there were some who used

* Moquegua, capital of the province of the same name, is about forty-five miles from the sea coast at Ylo. The province is now famous for its vineyards, producing large quantities of wine and spirits, which are exported into the *Sierra*. In the Andes, overhanging the province to the eastward, is a volcano called Huayna-putina, which threw out a fearful eruption in 1600, and others called Ubinas and Tutupaca.

poison against their enemies, not so much to kill them as to make them ugly and cause pain in their bodies and faces. It was a gentle poison, from which only those died who were of weak constitutions. Those who were strong, continued to live, but with great suffering, for their limbs became feeble, their intellects weak, and their faces and bodies ugly. They became most frightful, and spotted black and white, and were quite ruined both in mind and body, so that all their relations grieved to see them in such a plight, and were more sorry to behold them thus, than if they had been killed at once. The captains, having become acquainted with this evil practice, reported it to the Ynca, who ordered, all who had been guilty of such cruelty to be burnt alive, so that no memory might remain of them. This order of the King was so agreeable to the inhabitants of the province that they themselves executed the sentence, burnt the delinquents alive, with all they had in their houses, destroyed the houses, and strewed their sites with stones as accursed places. They also destroyed their flocks, and even pulled up the trees they had planted. It was ordered that their land should never be given to any one, but that it should remain desolate, that no man might inherit, with it, the evil deeds of its former owners. The severity of this punishment caused so much fear amongst the natives that, as they themselves declare, they never again practised this crime in the days of King Yncas, down to the time when the Spaniards conquered the country. Having settled the government, inflicted this chastisement, and established the colonists in their new homes, the captains returned to Cuzco, to report their proceedings, where they were well received, and rewarded by the King.

CHAPTER V.

THE YNCA ACQUIRES THREE NEW PROVINCES, AND CONQUERS IN A VERY HARD FOUGHT BATTLE.

After some years, the Ynca Mayta Ccapac determined to set out and reduce new provinces to submission, for, from day to day, the desire to extend their dominion increased in these Yncas. Having collected all the men of war he was able, and supplied them with provisions, he marched to Pucara of Umasuyu, which was the last town in that direction acquired by his grandfather, or according to others by his father, as we have stated in its place. From Pucara he marched eastwards to a province called Llaricasa,* and reduced its inhabitants without meeting any resistance, for they rejoiced to receive him as their Lord. Thence he passed on to the province of Sancava,† and conquered it in the same way, for as the fame of the deeds of the father and grandfather of this Prince had spread, the natives rejoiced to become vassals of the Yncas. These two provinces are more than fifty leagues long and thirty leagues broad in one part, twenty in another. They are very populous, and rich in flocks. The Yncas, having issued the usual orders respecting religion and revenue, marched on to the province called Pacassa, and proceeded to reduce the natives to subjection, without meeting with open resistance. They all obeyed and venerated the Ynca as a child of the Sun.

This province is part of that which we said that the Ynca Lloque Yupanqui had conquered. It is very large, and contains many towns, and thus its conquest was effected by

* Larecaja, a province to the eastward of the lofty cordillera of Sorata.

† This may be the place afterwards known as San Gavan, in the forests of Caravaya.

both these Yncas, father and son. Having completed these conquests, the Ynca reached the high road of Uma-suyu, near a village which is now called Huaychu. Here he became aware that a large body of men had come to oppose him. The Ynca continued his march in search of the enemies, who assembled to oppose the passage of a river, called the river of Huaychu.* There were thirteen or fourteen thousand armed Indians of different tribes, although they were all included under the general name of Collas. The Ynca, wishing to avoid a battle, and to continue his conquests without fighting, sent many messages, offering them peace and amity; but they always refused to receive them, and became more insolent every day, for they thought that the offers of the Ynca, which they rejected, were made through fear. They crossed the river in small parties, at many places, and attacked the Ynca's camp with much insolence. In order to avoid the loss of life on both sides as much as possible, the Ynca endured the insults with such patience that even his own soldiers disliked it, and said that it was not decent for a child of the Sun to endure so much insolence from barbarians, and that such endurance would lead to future contempt, and the loss of the reputation already acquired.

The Ynca calmed the anger of his people by saying that, to imitate his ancestors and to comply with the mandates of his father the Sun, he wished to spare those armed men, and to wait and see whether his desire not to give them battle, nor to do them harm, would awaken some perception of the good he was anxious to do them. With these and similar words the Ynca entertained his captains for many days, without giving them leave to close with the enemy. At length he was overcome by the importunity of his own people,

* This I take to be the river Viacha in Bolivia, which enters the lake of Titicaca at the south end.

and the insupportable insolence of the enemy, and ordered a battle to be fought.

The Yncas, who were exceedingly eager to fight, sallied forth with promptitude. The enemy, seeing the battle which they had so long sought was about to commence, came out also with much eagerness. They both fought with great ferocity and valour, those on one side to maintain their liberty, and their determination not to serve the Ynca, although he might be a child of the Sun; and those on the other to punish the insolence with which their King had been treated. They fought with great obstinacy, especially the Collas, who threw themselves wildly on the arms of the Yncas, and, as barbarians obstinate in their rebellion, fought with great desperation, and without order or concert. The loss of life was consequently very great, and the battle lasted the whole day without ceasing. The Ynca was to be found in every part of the field, now encouraging the men and acting the part of a captain, now fighting with the enemy, so as not to lose the reputation of being a good soldier.

CHAPTER VI.

THOSE OF HUAYCHU SUBMIT, AND ARE MERCIFULLY PARDONED.

On the side of the Collas, according to the account given by their descendants, more than six thousand were killed, owing to their want of discipline in fighting; while of the Yncas, owing to their order and regularity, not more than five hundred fell. Both sides retired to their camps under cover of night; but the Collas, feeling their wounds and seeing the number of their dead, lost heart, and knew not what to do, nor what course to adopt. For they had not the power to free themselves by fighting, and they knew not how

or where to escape by flight, their enemies having surrounded them, and occupied the passes: nor did they hope for any mercy, after having rejected and contemned the generous offers of the Ynca.

In this state of uncertainty they took the safest course, which was the advice of their old men. They proposed that the defeated Collas should seek the clemency of the prince, who, although they had offended him, would follow the example of his ancestors, and show mercy to rebels. So, as soon as dawn appeared, they put on the vilest habiliments, and, without shoes or any clothing but their smocks, and with their hands tied behind them, their chiefs presented themselves at the entrance of the Ynca's lodging. That prince received them kindly, and the Collas, falling on their knees, said that they had not come to ask for mercy, because they knew well they had not deserved it, but that the Ynca would treat them as their obstinacy and ingratitude merited. They only asked that their fighting men might be put to death as an example to warn others against disobedience to the child of the Sun.

The Ynca ordered one of his captains to tell them that his father the Sun had not sent him to the earth to kill Indians, but to do them good, drawing them from a bestial life, and teaching them the knowledge of the Sun their God, and giving them laws and government that they might live as men and not as brutes. With this purpose it was that the Ynca marched from province to province drawing Indians, of whose services he himself had no need, to the worship of the Sun. He, therefore, pardoned them, although they did not deserve it, and ordered that they should continue to live, and that, as they had been turned from their rebellion by the severe chastisement inflicted upon them by their father the Sun; so henceforward they should be obedient to his orders, and thus lead a happy and peaceful life. Having caused this reply to be made to them, the Ynca ordered them

to be clothed, cured of their wounds, and treated with all possible kindness. The Indians returned to their houses, convinced of the evil which their rebellion had caused them, and that they lived through the clemency of the Ynca.

CHAPTER VII.

THEY REDUCE MANY TOWNS. THE YNCA ORDERS A BRIDGE OF OSIERS TO BE MADE.

The news of the slaughter caused by this battle spread far and wide, and it was known how the Sun had punished those Indians who had refused obedience to his children the Yncas. Then, many towns which had hitherto been in arms and forming camps to resist the Ynca, when they heard of his clemency and piety, sent to ask for pardon and to be received as his vassals. The Ynca received them with much kindness, and ordered them to be given clothes and other presents, so that they were well satisfied, declaring on all sides that the Yncas were true children of the Sun.

The towns which then submitted to the Ynca, were those lying between Huaychu and Callamarca to the south of the road to Charcas. The Ynca advanced beyond Callamarca for twenty-four leagues along the Charcas road, as far as Caracollo,* reducing all the towns on either side of the road as far as the lake of Paria.† Then he turned to the east towards the Antis, and reached the valley which is now called Chuquiapu. The meaning of this word in the general language, is a "chief lance," or "principal lance,"‡ which is the same thing. In that district the Ynca ordered many

* Caracollo is one hundred and twenty miles S.E. of lake Titicaca.

† This is the lake or swamp of Paria or Aullagas, into which all the drainage of the great lake of Titicaca flows. It is about sixty miles long. The lake Titicaca is 12,850, and that of Aullagas 12,280 feet above the sea, according to Pentland.

‡ *Chuqui*, a lance; and *apu*, chief.

settlements of Indian colonists to be formed, because he saw that this valley was more suitable for the cultivation of maize than any other province amongst those which are included under the name of Colla. From the valley of Caracatu,* he marched eastwards to the foot of the great snowy range of the Andes, which is thirty leagues distant from the royal road of Uma-suyu.

After passing three years in these expeditions, forming settlements, and establishing law and order, the Ynca returned to Cuzco, where he was received with great festivities and rejoicings. Having rested for another three years, he ordered provisions and troops to be collected for new conquests, because he could not suffer himself to remain idle, and because he wished to march to the westward of Cuzco, where is the region of Cunti-suyu, containing many large provinces. As it was necessary to cross the river Apurimac, he ordered a bridge to be made for the passage of the army. He gave the directions for constructing the bridge, after consulting some Indians of intelligence; and as writers on Peru, although they mention the reed bridges, do not say in what manner they are made; it seems desirable that I should describe these bridges for the benefit of those who have never seen them, and also because this was the first bridge of osiers that was made in Peru, by order of the Yncas.

To make a bridge of this description, they collect an immense quantity of osiers, which, although different from those of Spain, are but another species, with fine and supple branches. They then lay up very long strands of the single osiers, the length of the bridge. With three of these strands they lay up a rope formed of nine osiers, and of three of these they make another composed of twenty-seven osiers; and of three of these they make another still larger. In this way they go on multiplying the strands and increasing the thickness of the rope, until it is as large or larger than a man's body.

* About forty miles S.S.E. of La Paz.

They make five of these very thick ropes. The Indians pass them from one side of the river to the other, either by swimming or in balsas. They take with them a slight line, to which they fasten a rope the size of a man's arm, made of the fibre called by the Indians *chahuar*.* To this rope they secure one of the great cables, and a number of Indians haul away until the end is across the river. As soon as all the five cables are across, they are placed over high buttresses cut out of a solid rock, when there is one conveniently placed; and when this is not the case, they erect masonry buttresses, as strong as rocks. The bridge of Apurimac, which is on the high road from Cuzco to the City of the Kings, has one buttress of solid rock, and another of masonry. These buttresses are hollow near the ground, and are strengthened with wing walls. In the hollow part, five or six beams, as thick as bullocks, are placed, extending from one buttress to the other, and fixed in order, one above the other. The cables are passed, with one round turn, over each of the beams, that the bridge may be drawn tight, and not be made slack by its own weight, which is very considerable. But, although it is well stretched, there is always a bight forming a curve, so that one descends to the middle, and ascends the last half.

Three of the great cables are placed as a floor for the bridge, and the other two are used for a parapet on either side. Small laths are placed across those used as a floor, like hurdles, for the whole width of the bridge, which is about two *varas* broad. These battens are placed to preserve the strands of the ropes, that they may last longer, and they are fastened very securely to these ropes. A number of boughs are placed over the hurdles in rows, and this is done that the beasts may have a firm footing. Between the cables forming the floors and those used as a balustrade they interlace many boughs and small wands fastened tightly

* Aloe.

together, forming a wall for the whole length of the bridge, which is thus made secure for the passage of men and beasts. The bridge of the Apurimac, which is the longest of all, is about two hundred paces across. I did not measure it myself, but in conversing in Spain with many who had crossed it, they gave this length, more or less. I have seen many Spaniards who did not get off to cross it, and some went over it on horseback at a gallop, to show how little they were afraid, but they could not but have experienced some feeling of apprehension. This great work was commenced with only three osiers, and it was completed in the way I have attempted to describe. It is certainly a wonderful work, and almost incredible except to those who have seen it, as I have done. Necessity has preserved it from being destroyed by time,* as has been the fate of many large bridges which the Spaniards found on their arrival in this country. In the time of the Yncas these bridges were renewed every year by the people of the neighbouring provinces, among whom the supply of material was divided according to their proximity to the work and their means. The same system is followed at the present day.

CHAPTER VIII.

MANY NATIONS ARE REDUCED TO SUBMISSION BY THE FAME OF THE BRIDGE.

As soon as he knew that the bridge was completed, the Ynca commenced his march with 12,000 armed men and experienced officers, and advanced as far as the bridge, where there was a strong guard stationed, in case an enemy should attempt to destroy it. But the people were so astonished at this new work, that they desired to receive the prince who had ordered it to be erected as their lord.

* That is, as the bridge is on the high road from Cuzco to Lima, it was a necessity to the Spaniards that it should be kept in repair.

For the Indians of Peru, in those times, and even until the arrival of the Spaniards, were so simple, that any one who invented a new thing was readily recognised by them as a child of the Sun. Thus it was that, when they saw the Spaniards fighting on the backs of animals so ferocious as horses appeared to them to be, and when they beheld them killing people at a distance of two or three hundred paces, they looked upon such men as gods. Owing mainly to these two things, but also to other novel things that they beheld, the Indians held the Spaniards to be children of the Sun, and they submitted to them with little opposition; and they show the same wonder and awe whenever the Spaniards introduce a new thing which they have never seen before, such as mills grinding wheat, ploughing with oxen, or making masonry arches for the bridges. They say that, by reason of all these things, it is fitting that they should serve the Spaniards. In the time of the Ynca Mayta Ccapac their simplicity was even greater. They were so much awed by the construction of the bridge, that this alone was sufficient to make several surrounding provinces submit to the Ynca. One of these provinces was called Chumpi-uillca,* in the Cunti-suyu division, which is twenty leagues long and more than ten wide. The inhabitants readily received the Ynca, partly from the fame of his being a child of the Sun, and partly from admiration at the new work, for they thought that such things could only be done by men come down from heaven. The only place where there was any resistance was at a village called Villilli.† The inhabitants retired

* *Chumpi*, dark brown colour; and *uilca*, sacred. This is the modern province of Chumbivilicas, in the department of Cuzco, the capital of which is a town called San Tomas. It is bounded on the north-east and east by the provinces of Paruro, Quispicanchi, Canchis and Canas; on the south and west by the department of Arequipa, and on the north and north-west by the province of Cotabambas.

† Velille is a village on rather a large river of the same name, a tributary of the Apurimac. There is a vast natural cave at Livitaca, near Velille, with stalactites

into a fort, and the Ynca ordered it to be surrounded on all sides, so that none might come forth, at the same time sending his pious and merciful invitations.

After a few days, not exceeding ten or twelve, the besieged surrendered, and the Ynca pardoned them; and, having pacified that province, he marched across the uninhabited part of Cunti-suyù, a distance of sixteen leagues, and encountered a formidable swamp three leagues broad, which checked the progress of the army.

The Ynca ordered a causeway to be made of large and small stones, between which clods of earth were placed, instead of mortar. The Ynca himself worked at this causeway, as well to give an example of industry as to assist in raising the large stones which were necessary for the work. Encouraged by his example, the people worked so hard that it was finished in a few days, being six *varas* wide and two high. The Indians held and still hold this causeway in great veneration, as well because the Ynca himself worked at it, as because of its great convenience. It enables them to avoid the long round that they had to take before, to get clear of the swamp, on one side or the other. They therefore take very great care to keep the causeway in repair, and scarcely a single stone is allowed to fall out without being immediately replaced. The duty of repairing this work is divided amongst different districts, each one undertaking a certain portion. The same system was established for the repair of other works, the portions being divided amongst families if the works were small, amongst districts if they were large, and amongst provinces if they were of great magnitude, such as bridges, royal houses, and other similar structures. The clods of turf are very useful on the causeways, because the roots interlace one with another between the stones, binding them together, and strengthening the work mightily.

CHAPTER IX.

THE YNCA ACQUIRES MANY OTHER GREAT PROVINCES, AND DIES IN PEACE.

The causeway being made, the Ynca Mayta Ccapac passed over it, and entered a province called Allca, where many armed Indians came from all parts to defend the passage of some very rugged mountains and difficult passes on the road, which, even in peaceful times, are such as to excite terror and apprehension. How much more so when they have to be crossed in the face of an opposing enemy! The Ynca led his army into the passes with so much prudence, forethought, and military skill, that although the enemy defended them, and people were killed on either side, he continued to gain ground on his opponents. When the enemy saw that they could not hold their own in such a position as they had chosen, but were being forced back day by day, they said that the Yncas must indeed be children of the Sun, for that they seemed to be invincible. In this vain belief (although they had resisted for more than two months) the whole province, with one accord, received the king as lord over them, promising him the fidelity of loyal vassals.

The Ynca entered the principal town, called Allca, in great triumph, and passed onward to other great provinces called Taurisma, Cota-huasi,* Puma-tampu, and Parihuana-ccocha,† which means the lake of the flamingos. For in an uninhabited part of that province there is a great lake, called

* Cotahuasi is in the modern province of La Union, in the department of Arequipa. Near it are two very lofty peaks, covered with perpetual snow, called Coro-Puna and Solimana.

† A province in the modern department of Ayacucho, forty-five leagues long by twenty. The lake of Parinacochas, which gives its name to the province, is ten miles long from east to west, and six miles across in the widest part. The province is to the westward of the watershed of the

ccocha in the Ynca language, and *parihuana* is the name for those birds which in Spain are called flamingos. Of these two words they formed one, saying Parihuana-ccocha, which name they gave to that great, fertile, and beautiful province, containing much gold. The Spaniards, making a syncope, say Parinacocha. Puma-tampu means a deposit of lions, composed of the words *puma*, a lion, and *tampu*, a depôt. The name probably originated from a lion's den, which at some time or other was found there, or because there were more lions there than in any other place.

From Parihuana-ccocha the Ynca continued his advance, and crossed the uninhabited region of Coropuna,* where there is a very lofty and most beautiful snowy peak, which the Indians, with much reverence, call *huaca*. This word, amongst many other significations, here means wonderful, and the peak certainly is so. In their ancient simplicity the Indians worshipped their mountains for their height and beauty, which are truly most admirable. Having crossed the uninhabited country, the Ynca entered a province called Aruni, when he advanced to another called Collahua, which extends as far as Arequipa. According to Blas Valera the name of Arequipa signifies a sounding trumpet.†

The Ynca Mayta Ccapac reduced all these provinces to obedience, and the people submitted very readily; for

Andes, but in the midst of lofty mountains. The lake is about sixty miles from the sea.

* Coro-puna and Solimana are two lofty peaks in the western or maritime cordillera of the Andes, in about latitude 15° 20' S. Coropuna is to the south of Solimana, and both are covered with perpetual snow. Coropuna is a perfect cone, and from its sides the sea may be seen, glittering under a setting sun, at a distance of sixty-five miles.

† *Ariñi*, "I affirm" or "declare," the root of which is *ari*, and *quepa*, a trumpet. (See also Mossi.) Others derive the name from *Ari* (yes) and *quepay* (remain), the order supposed to have been given to the colonists whom the Ynca caused to be transported to the valley of Arequipa.

having heard of the deeds done by the Yncas in the difficult passes of the mountains of Allca, they believed them to be invincible children of the Sun, and desired to become their vassals. The Ynca remained in each province as long as was necessary to establish the new government. He found the valley of Arequipa to be uninhabited, and considering the fertility of the soil and the pleasant climate, he ordered many of the conquered Indians to people that valley, explaining to them the excellence of the situation, and the advantages they would enjoy by colonising it. He sent more than 3000 families there, with which he founded three or four towns. One of them was called Chimpa, another Sucahuaya,* and the Ynca left governors and other officers in them. He then returned to Cuzco, having spent three years on this second expedition, during which time he subdued provinces nearly ninety leagues long, and from twelve to fifteen wide, in the region of Cunti-suyu. All this land was conterminous with that which had already been brought under his dominion.

The Ynca was received in Cuzco with very great solemnity, and his return was celebrated by rejoicings, dances, and songs composed to commemorate his deeds. Having rewarded his officers, the Ynca dismissed the army, and considering that the conquests he had made were sufficient, he resolved to rest from his past labours, and to occupy himself with the good government of his dominions, taking special care of the interests of the poor, the widows, and the orphans. In this way he passed the remainder of his life. They give to him, as to his ancestors, thirty years for his reign, a little more or less, but neither the length of his reign nor of his life are certainly known, nor could I ascertain more than the nature of his acts. He died full of honour, gained both in peace and in war, and was mourned

* The pretty little modern village of Socabaya, six miles south of Arequipa.

for during the space of a year, according to the custom of the Indians, for he was much loved by his vassals. He left, as his heir, his eldest son, Ccapac Yupanqui, by his sister and wife Mama Cuca. Besides the prince he had other sons and daughters, as well legitimate as illegitimate.

CHAPTER X.

CCAPAC YUPANQUI, THE FIFTH KING, GAINS MANY PROVINCES IN CUNTI-SUYU.

The Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui, whose names, having been used by his ancestors, have already been interpreted, took the emblem of power, the crimson fringe, on the death of his father, and having celebrated the obsequies, he set out to visit all his dominions, travelling through the provinces, and inquiring into the conduct of the governors. He was occupied for two years in this inspection, and then returned to Cuzco, where he ordered provisions to be collected, and an army to be assembled, intending to extend his conquests to the westward of Cuzco, in the Cunti-suyu region, in the ensuing year, for he heard that there were still many large and populous provinces still unsubdued in that direction. He ordered another bridge to be made across the great river Apurimac at a place called Huaca-chaca, lower down than that of Accha, which was completed with all diligence, and was broader than the older bridge, the width of the river being greater.

The Ynca departed from Cuzco with nearly 20,000 armed men, and reached the bridge, which is eight leagues from that city, by a very rugged and difficult road. The descent to the river alone is three leagues long, and nearly perpendicular, the actual height being half a league; and the ascent on the opposite side is another three leagues. After

passing the bridge, the Ynca entered a beautiful province called Yana-huara,* which now contains more than thirty towns, though it is not known how many it then had. The first town, on the side by which the Ynca came, was called Piti.† All the people came out, young and old, men, women, and children, singing and shouting, and joyfully received the Ynca as their lord. He treated them with much kindness, giving them clothes and other presents. The people of Piti sent messengers to the other towns in their district, whose inhabitants belong to the same nation of Yanahuara; announcing the arrival of the Ynca, and that they had received him as their king and lord. Following their example, the other Curacas came and did the same as those of Piti.

The Ynca received them as he had done the first, and gave them presents, and as a still greater favour he expressed his desire to visit their towns, which are scattered over an extent of country twenty leagues long by fifteen broad. From the province of Yana-huara the Ynca advanced to another called Aymara,‡ over an uninhabited region fifteen leagues wide; on the other side of which, on a great hill called Mucansa, he found a large body of men assembled to oppose him at the frontier of their country, which is thirty leagues long, and more than fifteen wide. It is rich in mines of gold, silver, and lead, and has abundance of flocks. It is also well peopled, and, before the conquest, contained more than eighty towns.

* I take this to be the modern province of Cotabambas, which is bounded on the north-east by the provinces of Anta and Paruro, on the east and south by that of Chumbivilcas, on the west by those of Aymaraes and Abancay, and on the south-west by Parinacochas. The chief town of the province is called Tambobamba.

† Piti or Pitic is a village in the province of Cotabambas.

‡ The modern province of Aymaraes, bounded on the north-east and east by the provinces of Abancay and Cotabambas, and on the south, west, and north-west by the department of Ayacucho. The chief town of the province is Challhuanca.

The Ynca ordered his army to be posted at the foot of the hill, to prevent the retreat of the enemy; for, being a barbarous people without discipline, they had deserted their towns and assembled on that hill as the strongest place, without considering that they might be surrounded as in a yard. The Ynca was many days without giving them battle, nor consenting that they should be injured, merely forbidding provisions to be furnished to them, that they might surrender through hunger, and he sent messages of peace to them.

This state of things lasted for more than a month, when the rebels, forced by hunger, sent a messenger to the Ynca to say that they would receive him as their king, and as a child of the Sun, on condition that he, as such child of the Sun, would give his faith and word to conquer and reduce (as soon as they had submitted) the adjoining province of Uma-suyu, which was inhabited by a warlike people who invaded their country, and used their pastures up to the very doors of their houses, and did them other injuries. They said that they had waged war to the death with these people, and although truces had been made, those of Uma-suyu had always re-commenced their incursions. The people of Aymara added that when their enemies became vassals of the Ynca they must desist from these hostilities, and that on this condition they themselves would submit and receive him as their prince and lord.

The Ynca replied, through one of his captains, that he had come for no other reason than to abolish all such customs, and to teach barbarous nations to follow the laws of men and not of beasts, and to instruct them in the knowledge of the Sun their God: that to do away with such practices, and to establish order was the business of the Ynca, and that there was no necessity to impose, as a condition of vassalage, what would be done as a duty; for that it was not for them to make laws but to receive him as a child of the Sun, and

they must leave the quarrels to the decision of the Ynca, who would know how to deal with them.

With this reply the ambassadors returned, and next day all the people on that hill, numbering as many as 12,000 armed men, with their wives and children, making a total number of 30,000 souls, came forth. They marched, each according to his village, and placed themselves on their knees before the Ynca according to custom, submitting as vassals, and in token of homage presenting gold and silver and lead, and all the other goods they possessed. The Ynca received them with much clemency, and ordered them to be fed, for they were suffering from hunger. He also gave them food to last until they reached their villages, that they might not suffer on the road, and ordered them to return presently to their homes.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CONQUEST OF THE AYMARAS. THE CURACAS ARE PARDONED. LANDMARKS ARE FIXED ON THE BOUNDARIES.

The people having been dismissed, the Ynca went to a town of the same province of Aymara called Huaquirca,* which now contains more than 2,000 houses; whence he sent messengers to the Caciques of Uma-suyu,† commanding them to appear before him, that he might decide upon their differences with the Aymaras respecting pasture grounds, and that he would wait for them at Huaquirca, to give them

* A village, with a church, in the modern province of Aymaraes.

† Umasuyu or Omasuyos is a Bolivian province extending along the eastern shores of lake Titicaca; but that cannot be the region referred to in the text, as it is upwards of two hundred miles from Huaquirca. There must have been another district with the same name bordering on Aymaraes.

laws and ordinances according to which they might live as reasonable beings, instead of killing each other like brute beasts for so small a matter as the pasturage of their flocks: for that it was notorious there was abundant room for the flocks of both nations. The Curacas of Umu-suyu, having assembled to consider their reply, for the message had been addressed to them as a body, replied that they had no need to go to the Ynca; that if he had need of them he might seek them in their own land, when they would await his coming with arms in their hands; that they knew not that he was a child of the Sun, nor that the Sun was God, nor did they want to know; that they had their own gods, with whom they were at accord, and that they desired no other gods. They added that the Ynca should send his laws and sermons to those who desired to have them, for that they considered it a very good law to take what they wanted by force, and to defend their own land by arms against those who wished to annoy them; that this was their answer, and if the Ynca wanted any other, they would give him one in the field, as valiant soldiers.

The Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui, and his officers, having considered the reply of the Chiefs of Uma-suyu, resolved that they would march into their country as rapidly as possible, and overcome their insolence and audacity more by dint of fear and wonder than by injuring them. For the law and commandment of the first Ynca Manca Ccapac, given to all his descendants, was that under no circumstances should blood be shed in their conquests, until all other means had failed; but that the enemy should be conquered with kindness, for thus the Yncas would be loved; while they would be for ever detested by those who were conquered by arms. The Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui, seeing how wise it would be to keep this law for the increase and preservation of his realm, ordered 18,000 men to be assembled with all diligence, from amongst the best soldiers in his army, with whom he

marched day and night, and very soon reached the province of Uma-suyu, where the unsuspecting enemy did not anticipate their approach for a month, owing to the difficulty of the march for a great army. Seeing the Ynca thus suddenly appear in the midst of their villages, with an army of chosen men, and that the rest of his forces were following him, they knew that they could not assemble for battle in time to prevent the destruction of their houses. So they repented of their insolent reply, laid down their arms, and called their Curacas together from all parts with all despatch, desiring them to seek for mercy and pardon. The Curacas presented themselves before the Ynca as they arrived, some at once, others afterwards, and besought pardon, confessing that he was a child of the Sun, and praying that as the son of such a father, he would receive them as vassals, and they promised to serve him faithfully.

The Ynca, far from realizing the fears of the Curacas, who expected to be put to death, received them with much kindness, and ordered them to be told that, as ill-taught barbarians, they could not understand what was best in religion and in morality, but that when they had enjoyed the benefit of the laws, order, and government of his ancestors they would rejoice to be his vassals; and would despise their own idols, as soon as they comprehended the many benefits which all the world receives from their father the Sun, who ought to be adored and looked upon as God. They were also told that their own idols, which they called the gods of their land, were merely the figures of vile and filthy animals, which ought to be despised, instead of being treated as gods. The Ynca ordered that they should obey him and his officers in all things, as well as regards religion as civil laws, for that their father the Sun had ordered both one and the other.

The Curacas, with great humility, replied that they promised not to take any other gods except the Sun, nor to obey any laws but those which the Ynca imposed on them;

for they judged, from what they had seen and heard, that these laws were instituted for the good of the vassals. The Ynca, to please his new vassals, went to the principal town of that province, called Chiriqui, and there, having considered the dispute concerning the pastures, which had caused wars between the two provinces, he ordered landmarks to be set up at points where they could be best seen, so that each province might have its proper limits, and not trespass on those of its neighbour. These landmarks have been preserved to this day with great veneration, because they were the first that were ever set up in Peru, by order of the Yncas.

The Curacas of both provinces kissed the hand of the Ynca, giving him many thanks for having made a partition which satisfied both sides. The king visited all parts of those provinces to establish laws and ordinances, intending afterwards to return to Cuzco, and not to continue his conquests, although he might well have done so, consideriug the success that had hitherto attended them. The Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui entered the capital in triumph, with his army, and the Curacas and chief people of the three provinces which had been newly conquered accompanied the king to see the imperial city, and they were borne on men's shoulders in golden litters, as a sign that they had submitted to the Ynca. The king's officers surrounded the litters, and the soldiers marched in front, according to their squadrons, those of each province by themselves, marching in the order in which each had been reduced, the earliest being nearest to the Ynca, and the last furthest from him. The whole city came out to receive the army with dancing and singing, as was the custom.

CHAPTER XII.

THE YNCA SENDS AN ARMY TO CONQUER THE QUECHUAS. THEY ARE REDUCED TO SUBMISSION, WITH THEIR OWN CONSENT.

For four years the Ynca was occupied in the government and improvement of his realm, when, deeming it to be undesirable that he should pass so much time at peace, without giving an opportunity for martial exercises, he issued orders that arms and provisions should be collected with great care for the ensuing year. When the time arrived he appointed his brother, named Auqui Titu, as Captain-General, and four Yncas from amongst his nearest relations, men experienced in affairs both of peace and war, as masters of the camp. Each was to have the immediate command of five thousand soldiers, and all five were to govern the whole army. They were ordered to extend the conquests, already achieved by the Ynca, in the Cunti-suyu region; and, in order to give them a propitious start, he went with them as far as the bridge of Huaca-chaca, whence, having commended to them the example of the Yncas their ancestors, he returned to Cuzco.

The Ynca General and his masters of the camp entered the province of Cota-pampa, where they met the lord of the province, accompanied by a relation of his, who was lord of another province, called Quechua. The Caciques, having heard that the Ynca was sending an army to their land, had met to receive him joyfully as their king and lord, for they had looked forward to the coming of the Yncas for many days, and thus they came forth with people dancing and singing, and received the Ynca, Auqui Titu, with demonstrations of satisfaction and joy. They said:— "You are welcome, O Ynca Apu," (which means General)

" to make us servants and vassals of the child of the Sun, and we adore you as his brother; assuring you that, if you had not come so soon, we intended to have gone ourselves to Cuzco in the following year, to offer submission to the king, and to entreat him to receive us into his empire. For the fame of his deeds, and of the wonders done by these children of the Sun, both in peace and war, are well known to us, and have made us so desirous to become their vassals, that each day seems a year to us. We also desired to be his vassals, that we might be freed from the tyranny and cruelty of the nations called Chanca and Hancohualla, and others bordering upon us, which we have endured for many years, since the time of our ancestors, when they took much land from us, and troubled us with unreasonable oppression; so that we also desired to be vassals of the Yncas, that we might be delivered from our tyrants. The Sun, thy father, guard and protect you, that thus our desires may be fulfilled." Having said this, they made their obeisances to the Ynca, and presented much gold to be sent to the king. The province of Cota-pampa, after the war of Gonzalo Pizarro, was the *repartimiento* of Don Pedro Luis de Cabrera, a native of Seville; and that of Cotanera,* as well as another, of which we shall presently speak, called Huamanpallpa,† were the property of Garcilasso de la Vega, my lord, and this was the second *repartimiento* he received in Peru. Of the first we shall speak further on, in its place.

The General, Auqui Titu, and his captains, replied in the name of the Ynca, and said that they rejoiced at the good disposition of the chiefs in former years, and at their present willingness to serve the Ynca, and that they would fully

* I have not been able to identify this place, but it must be a village in the province of Cotabambas or Aymaraes.

† This is probably Huambalpa, a district in the province of Cangallo department of Ayacucho.

report both the one and the other, as well as every word they had then spoken, to his majesty, that he might reward them, as he rewarded all who served him. The Curacas were much pleased that their words would come to the knowledge of the Ynca, and each day they displayed more zeal to do all that the General and his captains ordered. Having established the usual good order of government in those two provinces, the officers advanced to another, called Huamanpallpa, which was also conquered without war or any opposition whatever. The Yncas then crossed the river Amancay by two or three branches, which flow through these provinces, and, uniting further on, form the great river called Amancay.

One of these branches flows past Chuquinca, where the battle was fought between Francisco Hernandez Giron and the Marshal Don Alonzo de Alvarado;* and on this same river was fought, some years previously, the battle between Don Diego de Almagro and the said Marshal,† in both of which Don Alonzo de Alvarado was defeated, as we shall more fully relate in its place, if God spares us to reach so far. The Ynca marched onwards, reducing the provinces on either side of the river Amancay, which are numerous, and are all included under this name of Quechua.‡ They all contained much gold and large flocks.

* In 1554. The formidable rebellion of Giron is fully described by the Ynca in the second part of his work, and by Fernandez of Palencia.

† Alvarado was sent against Almagro by Pizarro, who was at Lima. The battle was fought on July 12th, 1537. See my translation of *The Life of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman*, pp. 114-115, and note.

‡ This is the first time that the word Quechua occurs. It appears that the people dwelling on the banks of the river Abancay and in the adjacent country were called Quechuas or Quichuas.

CHAPTER XIII.

THEY CONQUER MANY VALLEYS ON THE SEA COAST.

Having made the usual arrangements, they set out over the uninhabited region of the Huallaripa, a mountain range famous for the quantity of gold that has been taken out of it, and for the much larger quantity that remains. Having crossed this desert country, which is thirty-five leagues wide, they descended on to the sea coast *llanos*.* The whole country along the sea coast, and all other land in a hot climate, is called by the Indians *yunca*, which means "hot land"; and under this name of *yunca* they included many lands along the sea coast. The Spaniards called the country over which irrigation, from the rivers flowing from the mountains to the sea extends, *valles*, and this is the only part of the coast that is inhabited. For, beyond the land irrigated by the water, all the country is uninhabitable, and consists of sand, on which neither herb nor any other useful thing can grow.

At the point where these Yncas came out on the *llanos* is the great, fertile, and populous valley of Acari,† which formerly contained more than twenty thousand Indians. The Yncas reduced them to obedience with much ease.

* The *llanos* are the sea-coast deserts intervening between the irrigated valleys. From July to October, when there is the greatest amount of moisture in the atmosphere, these *llanos*, and the mountains which bound them, are carpeted with wild flowers of all colours—compositæ, wild tobacco, nympha, oxalis, salvia, verbena, heliotrope, amaranth, solanum, etc. During the rest of the year they are parched and arid wastes.

† On the sea-coast, in the province of Camana, department of Arequipa.

From the valley of Acari the invaders advanced into those of Uñia, Camana, Caravilli, Picta, Quilca,* and others that are further on along that coast, which runs north and south for a distance of sixty leagues. The whole of the above valleys are more than twenty leagues long, following the course of their rivers from the mountains to the sea, and their width is the distance to which the water can be led for irrigation on either side, some two leagues, some more and some less, according as the supply of water is large or small. There are some of the coast rivers which the Indians never allow to reach the sea, drawing all the water off to irrigate their crops and trees. The Ynca General, Auqui Titu, and his masters of the camp, having reduced all these valleys to submission to the king without a battle, sent a report of all that had happened, and especially informed the Ynca concerning the secret customs of those Indians, of their rites and ceremonies, and of their gods, which were the fish that they killed. He also reported that there were some * * * *, not in all the valleys, but one here and one there, nor was it a habit of all the inhabitants, but only of certain particular persons, who practised it in private. He likewise informed the Ynca that there was no more land to conquer in that direction, for that it was joined on one side to the country already annexed, and bounded on the other by the sea coast.

The Ynca was much pleased with the account of the conquest, and still more that it had been achieved without the shedding of blood. He sent orders that, after making the customary administrative arrangements, the army should return to Cuzco. He also directed that the * * * * should be sought out with great diligence, and be publicly burnt alive; that their houses should be burnt, their trees pulled up and crops destroyed. That there might be no memory

* Coast valleys of the province of Camana.

whatever of a thing so abominable, a law was issued that, if hereafter any one should fall into this habit, the whole of his villages should be destroyed for one man's crime, and all the inhabitants burnt.

All was done as the Ynca had commanded, to the extreme wonder of the natives of the valleys that the criminals should be punished in this new fashion. But the crime was so abhorred by the Yncas and all their people that the very name of it was considered odious, and never allowed to cross their lips. Any Indian of Cuzco, not being of the Ynca race, who angrily applied that name to another, was looked upon by the other Indians as infamous for many days, because he had allowed such a word to pass his lips.

As soon as the General and his officers had obeyed all the commands of the Ynca, they returned to Cuzco, where they were received in triumph, and were granted many favours. Some years afterwards the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui conceived a desire to make a new expedition in person, and extend his dominions in the direction of Colla-suyu, for in the two previous campaigns his army had not gone beyond Cunti-suyu. So he ordered an army of 20,000 men to be assembled for the ensuing year.

While the people were assembling, he made arrangements for the government of the whole kingdom, naming his brother Auqui Titu as his lieutenant, with the four masters of the camp who had served with him as his councillors. He also selected four other masters of the camp and other officers, all Yncas, to accompany the army; and although all the soldiers who came from the different provinces had one of the chiefs of their own nation with them, as soon as they joined the royal army, Ynca officers were placed over these chiefs, whose orders they obeyed, and they acted under the Yncas as their lieutenants. In this way the whole army was regulated by the Yncas, without depriving the chiefs of the other nations of their offices. Because the Yncas ordered

that in all things, which were not contrary to their own laws and ordinances, the wishes of the Curacas of the different provinces should be considered. Thus they all took pleasure in serving the Yncas. The Ynca ordered that the prince his heir should accompany him, to obtain experience of war, although he was still very young.

CHAPTER XIV.

TWO GREAT CURACAS REFER THEIR DIFFERENCES TO THE YNCA, AND BECOME HIS SUBJECTS.

When the time for setting out on the campaign arrived, the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui departed from Cuzco and marched to the lake of Paria, which was the extreme limit of his father's conquests in that direction. He caused his officers to muster the contingents on the road, from each province, and took care to visit the towns which were within reach on either side of the road, to give satisfaction to the people by his presence. They looked upon a visit of the Ynca as so great an honour that, in many places, they preserve the memory of the spot where one of the Yncas had encamped to this day, or of the village where he had asked for something, granted some favour, or rested on his march. The Indians still venerate these places, because they had once been honoured by the presence of one of their kings.

The Ynca, as soon as he arrived at the lake of Paria,* took measures to reduce the surrounding country to obedience. Some submitted by reason of the good things they had heard of the Ynca, and others because they had no means of resistance. While he was occupied in these conquests, messengers arrived from two great captains in the country

* Or of Aullagas, which receives the drainage of lake Titicaca.

of Colla-suyu, who were making a cruel war against each other. And that this history may be better understood, it must be known that these two great Curacas were the descendants of two famous captains who, in the times before the Yncas, had risen up in those provinces, each one by himself, and gained many towns and vassals, thus becoming great lords. Not content with what they had each acquired, they turned their arms one against the other, according to the ordinary custom of a reigning power, which cannot brook an equal. They made cruel war, sometimes one and sometimes the other losing and gaining, although they maintained the war like brave captains during the whole period that they lived. They left this feud as an inheritance to their sons and descendants, who carried it on with the same valour as their ancestors, up to the time of the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui.

Beholding this continual and cruel war, which had often all but destroyed both sides, and fearing that, owing to the equality in force and valour, they might be altogether annihilated, the two chiefs agreed, in concert with their captains and relations, to submit their quarrel to the arbitration of the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui, and to abide by his decision touching their feud. They came to this resolution, moved by the fame of former Yncas and of the present one, whose justice and rectitude, with the marvels which their father the Sun had worked for them, were so widely noised abroad amongst those nations, that all desired to experience them. One of these lords was named Cari, and the other Chipana, and all their ancestors, from the first, had the same names. Their successors wished to preserve their memories in their names, which one inherited from the other, to remind them of their ancestors, and to induce them to imitate those valorous captains. Pedro de Cieza de Leon (chapter c) briefly alludes to these events, although he places them long after the time when they really occurred.

He calls one Curaca Cari, and the other Sapana.* When these chiefs heard that the Ynca was pursuing his conquests near their provinces, they sent messengers giving him an account of their wars and of what they sought from him, beseeching permission to come and kiss his hand and give him a fuller account of their differences, that he might give his decision upon them. They protested that they would abide by what the Ynca ordered, for that the whole world must acknowledge him to be a child of the Sun, from whose rectitude they hoped for justice to both sides, so that there might henceforth be perpetual peace.

The Ynca heard what the messengers had to say, and answered that the Curacas should come, and that he would endeavour to decide between them; and that he hoped to make them friends, because the laws and ordinances which he would ordain would be decreed by his father the Sun, whom he would consult, that he might be more certain of the correctness of his decision. The Curacas rejoiced greatly at this reply, and came to Paria,† where the Ynca then was, a few days afterwards, each entering on the same day by different roads, as had been previously agreed. On being presented to the king they both kissed his hands at the same time, not desiring to obtain any advantage. Then Cari, whose territory was nearest to that of the Ynca, spoke in the name of both, and gave a long account of the disputes between them, and of its causes. He said that sometimes they arose from the envy that one felt at the deeds and successes of the other; at others from ambition and covetousness; and at others from questions as to boundaries or

* See my translation, p. 363. Cieza de Leon makes these chiefs to be contemporaneous with the Ynca-Huira-ccocha. He says that one of them conquered a large island in lake Titicaca, and found there a white people who had beards.

† Near Oruro, and about thirty miles north of the lake of Aullagas. The climate is cold; and the Indians cultivate quinua, potatoes, and barley.

jurisdiction. He prayed his Majesty to decide between them, ordering what he thought proper, for that they were now tired of the wars that they had waged during many years. The Ynca, having received them with his usual affability, ordered that they should serve for some days in his army, and that two of the oldest and most experienced Ynca captains should instruct them in the natural laws, by which the Yncas governed their provinces, that the inhabitants might live in peace, respecting as well the honour as the property of their neighbours. He also sent two Yncas, his relations, into the provinces of these Curacas, to inquire into their boundaries, and to sift the causes of these wars to the bottom. Having received full information, and consulted his council, the Ynca sent for the Curacas, and, in few words, told them that his father the Sun had commanded that, in order to preserve peace and concord, they must keep the laws which the Ynca captains had taught them, and that they must look after the welfare and increase of their people, who were rather destroyed than multiplied by wars: that if they continued in discord, he would be forced to raise up other Curacas, and to displace them for their weakness and inefficiency, taking away their estates, and blotting out the memory of their ancestors; all which would be preserved by peace. He also ordered them to set up landmarks at such and such points, to mark the boundaries, which must not be altered. Finally he told them that their father the Sun had so ordered it, that they might live in peace, and that the Ynca had confirmed the order, on pain of severe punishment if it was infringed, they themselves having chosen him as the umpire of their differences.

The Curacas replied that they would readily obey his Majesty, and, from the love they had acquired for his service, that they would be true friends. Afterwards the Caciques Cari and Chipana observed the laws of the Ynca, the administration of his court and of his whole empire, the

merciful method of making war, and the justice which he dealt out to all, without allowing any oppression. They particularly noted the kindness with which they themselves had been treated, and the justice of the decision respecting the boundaries of their lands. Having well pondered over these things, and consulted with their relations and retainers, they determined to submit to the Ynca, and become his vassals. They also did this because they saw that the empire of the Ynca came very near to their estates, and that they might be taken by force, they not being powerful enough to resist. They prudently desired to become vassals of their own accord, and not by force, so that they might not lose the reward which such conduct would merit from the Ynca. With this resolution they presented themselves before him, and besought his Majesty to receive them into his service as vassals and servants of the child of the Sun, for that from that time they surrendered their land to him. They asked him to send governors and ministers to instruct these new vassals what their duties were in his service.

The Ynca said that he approved of their good disposition, and would remember to show them favour on all occasions. He ordered them to be given the clothes worn by the Yncas for themselves, and other clothes of less distinction for their relations, showing them other marks of favour, with which the Curacas were well satisfied. In this way the Ynca added many provinces and towns to his empire, which were possessed by these Caciques in the region of Colla-suyu. Among others were Poco-ata,* Muru-muru,† Maccha,‡ Caracara,§ and all those to the eastward of these

* A town thirty-five miles from Chayanta, to the S.S.E.; to the eastward of the lake of Aullagas.

† A place about thirty miles north-west of Chuquisaca (Sucre), the capital of Bolivia.

‡ Probably Machaca, about forty-five miles north-west of Cochabamba.

§ Corocoro?

provinces up to the great cordillera of the Antis, besides the vast uninhabited tract which extends to the frontier of the province of Tapac-ri, called by the Spaniards Tapacari.* This desert is more than thirty leagues across, and so very cold that it has no inhabitants; but, owing to its wide pasture lands, it is covered with innumerable flocks, both wild and domestic. It also has many springs of water, so hot that the hand cannot be held in them for the space of an *Ave Maria*, and the source may be seen through the steam caused by the hot water on issuing out, although it is distant. This hot water is impregnated with sulphur, and it is to be noted that amongst the hot springs there are others of excessively cold water, and very pleasant to the taste; and when they all unite they form a river called Cochapampa.†

After crossing the great desert of the fountains the road comes to a mountain, the descent of which is seven leagues long down to the *llano* of Tapac-ri, where was the first *repartimiento* of Indians which my lord Garcilasso de la Vega received in Peru. It is a most fertile land, populous and with large flocks, more than twenty leagues long by eleven wide. Eight leagues further on there is another very beautiful province, called Cochapampa, where there is a valley thirty leagues long and four wide, with a very large river which forms it. These two beautiful provinces were included in the territory which the two Curacas, Cari and Chipana, surrendered in the manner already described. By this acquisition the Yncas enlarged their empire by a territory sixty leagues long. The province of Cochapampa,

* The province of Tapacari is in the Bolivian department of Cochabamba. It comprises nearly the whole valley of Cochabamba, besides a mountainous tract, cut up by deep ravines. The irrigated valleys yield maize and fruits; while potatoes, ocas, and quinua grow on the high land.

† This is the Rio Grande de Cochabamba, an affluent of the Pilcomayu.

being a region so large and fertile, was settled by the Spaniards, who founded a town there in the year 1565, called San Pedro de Cardeña, because the founder was a native of Burgos, named Luis Osorio.

As soon as these conquests were made, the Ynca ordered that two masters of his camp should proceed to the estates of the two Curacas, with the necessary officers for their government and for the instruction of the new vassals. Then, judging that these conquests were sufficient for one year, being more than he had expected, the Ynca returned to Cuzco, taking with him the two Curacas, that they might see the Court and be entertained and presented with gifts. They were very well received in the city, and feasted, because so the Ynca had ordered. After some days they received permission to return to their estates, and they departed, well satisfied with the favours they had received. The Ynca told them that he intended to set out soon to reduce the other Indian nations.

CHAPTER XV.

THEY MAKE A BRIDGE OF STRAW AND TWISTED FIBRES OVER THE DESAGUADERO. CHAYANTA IS CONQUERED.

The Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui was proud of the result of the bridge, which we call Huaca-chaca, over the river Apurimac, and ordered another to be made across the Desaguadero (*drain*) of the lake of Titicaca, because he intended soon to proceed with the conquest of other provinces in the Colla-suyu region. For, that land being flat and favourable for the march of armies, the Yncas found the conquest of it to be desirable, and for this reason they persevered until they had possession of the whole of it. The bridge of Huaca-chaca, and nearly all the others in

Peru, are made of osiers; and that over the river called by the Spaniards the Desaguadero, is also of twisted fibres and other materials. It is on the water, like the bridge of boats at Seville, and is not in the air, as are the bridges of twisted fibre which have already been described. There grows, throughout Peru, a long kind of straw, soft and flexible, which the Indians call *ychu*,* and with which they thatch their houses. It is much made use of, and is excellent pasturage for sheep, and the Collas make baskets and hampers of it, which they call *pataas* (like small boxes), as well as ropes and cables. Besides this good straw, a very great quantity of reeds grows on the banks of lake Titicaca, which are called *espadeña* or *enea*. At the proper time the Indians of the provinces, who are obliged to make the bridge, cut a large quantity of reeds, that they may be dried and ready when the bridge is to be repaired. They make four cables of this straw, of the thickness of a man's leg, two of which they stretch across from one side of the river to the other, which appears not to flow at all from above, but from below seems to have a very strong current, as those say who have seen it. Instead of boats, they fasten very large bundles of reeds across the cables, of the thickness of a bullock, strongly secured to each other and to the cables. Over the bundles or faggots are stretched the two other cables, which are very firmly secured to the reed faggots, so that they may strengthen each other. An additional quantity of reeds was spread over the cables, that they might not be so soon worn out by the traffic. They made a further quantity of bundles of reeds of smaller size, about the thickness of a man's leg or arm, which were also placed in rows, fastened to each other and to the cables. The Spaniards call these smaller faggots the footway of the bridge. The bridge is thirteen to fourteen feet

* *Stipa Ychu*, coarse grass, growing in patches, which covers the higher slopes of the Andes, and is used for thatch.

wide, more than a yard high, and one hundred and fifty paces, a little more or less, in length. Hence an idea may be formed of the quantity of reeds and rushes that would be necessary to construct so great a work. It must be understood that the bridge is repaired every six months—that is, the whole work is renewed, for such perishable materials would not serve for repairs; and that the bridge may always be secure, it is renewed before the cables become rotten and break.

The care of this bridge, as of other great works, was, in the time of the Yncas, divided amongst the neighbouring provinces, and notice is given of the quantity of material that must be provided by each; and as it was collected from one year to another, the bridge was completed in a very short time. The ends of the thick cables, which were the foundations of the bridge, are buried under the ground, and they do not erect buttresses of stone where the cables are secured. The Indians say that this is the best plan for a bridge of this kind, but it is also done because they change its position, making it sometimes higher up, and at others lower down, but not over any great distance. As soon as the Ynca knew that the bridge was made, he set out from Cuzco with the prince his heir, and marched to the most distant provinces of the Caciques Cari and Chipana, which, as has already been said, were Tapac-ri and Cochapampa. The Caciques were ready with men at arms to serve the Ynca. From Cochapampa they went to Chayanta,* passing over a wild desert where there is not a foot of serviceable ground, but rocks, stony wastes, and cliffs. Nothing grows in this desert except certain plants with thorns as long as a man's finger, of which the Indians make needles to do the little sewing they have need of. These plants (*cirios*) grow in all parts of Peru.† After crossing the wilderness, they entered

* A town of Bolivia, twenty-eight miles east of the lake of Aullagas, and about seventy miles south-east of Oruro.

† Cactus.

the province of Chayanta, which is twenty leagues long and nearly as many across. The Ynca ordered the prince to send out messengers with the usual demands.

The Indians of Chayanta did not agree as to the answer that should be given to these messages. Some said that it was very just that the child of the Sun should be received by them as God, and that his laws should be kept, for that it might be believed that, being favoured by the Sun, he would be just, kind, and beneficent in his treatment of vassals. Others said that they had no want of a king nor of new laws and customs; that those they already had were very good, for that they had been good enough for their ancestors, and that their gods were sufficient for them, without adopting a new religion and new customs; that it seemed worse for them to subject themselves to the will of a man who was now preaching religion and holiness, but who to-morrow, when they were once subjugated, would impose what laws he chose, all for his own benefit and for the injury of the vassals; and that it was better to preserve their liberty as heretofore, or to die for it, than to experience these evils.

This difference of opinion lasted for some days, each party desiring that its view should prevail, until at last, through fear of the arms of the Ynca on the one hand, and owing to accounts of the excellence of the new laws on the other, they all agreed to submit. Their answer was not one of absolute submission, nor of entire defiance, but it partook a little of both alternatives. They said that they would rejoice to receive the Ynca as their king and lord, but that they did not know what manner of laws he would order them to observe, nor whether they would be beneficial or hurtful. They, therefore, begged that they might try both forms of government, and that (while they were receiving instruction in his laws) the Ynca and his army might enter their province, with a promise that he would

depart and leave them free if they did not like his laws, while, if the laws were as good as he represented them to be, they would henceforward adore him as a child of the Sun, and recognise him as their lord.

The Ynca said that he would accept the condition, although he was well able to force them to submit. But he chose rather to imitate the example of his ancestors, and to gain his vassals by love rather than by force. He gave them his word to leave them in the liberty they then enjoyed if they did not desire to worship the Sun nor to keep his laws; for he hoped that, when they knew and understood them, not only that they would not hate them, but that they would love them, and lament that they had not known them many ages before.

Having made this promise, the Ynca entered Chayanta, where he was received with veneration and respect, but not with joy and applause, as had been the case in the other provinces, because they knew not how the affair might end. Thus they remained between fear and hope until the elders, who accompanied the Ynca as councillors and governors of the army, in presence of the heir to the throne, who assisted at some of the meetings, explained the laws, as well those concerning their idolatry, as those relating to the government of the state. This was done many times and during many days, until the people clearly understood the laws. The Indians, carefully considering how beneficial they would be to them, said that the Sun, and his children the Yncas, who had given such laws and ordinances to men, deserved to be worshipped and looked upon as gods and lords of the earth. They therefore promised to obey the rules and statutes of the Ynca, and to abandon their own idols, rites, and customs. They made this protestation before the prince, and worshipped him in place of his father the Sun, and of the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui.

As soon as the solemnities of this submission were com-

pleted, there were great dances and balls, with songs and festivities in praise of the Sun and of the Yncas, and of their good laws and government; and they submitted with all the show of love and goodwill that they could display.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE VARIOUS DEVICES OF THE INDIANS FOR CROSSING THE RIVERS, AND FOR FISHING.

Now that an account has been given of the two kinds of bridges which the Yncas ordered to be made for crossing rivers—one of osiers and the other of grass and rushes—it will be well that we should relate other means and contrivances they used for crossing them; for, owing to their great cost and the time lost in constructing them, the bridges were only made on the main lines of road; but, as that land is so long and narrow, and is crossed by so many rivers, the Indians, taught by necessity, invented various modes of crossing them, according to their different circumstances, as well as for navigating the sea, to the small extent to which they ventured. But for navigating the sea they had no knowledge of *piraguas*, nor of canoes, like the Indians of Florida, of the Windward Islands, and of the Tierra Firme, which are like troughs; for there is no large timber in Peru suitable for making them; and though it is true that there are very tall trees, the wood is as heavy as iron. They, therefore, used another kind of wood, as slight as a man's thigh, as light as wood of the fig tree, the best kind coming from the province of Quitu,* whence it was sent, by order of the Yncas, to all the rivers. Of these canes they made large and small *balsas* of five or six long poles tied together, the middle one being longer than the others; the first on

* Bamboo, now called *Caña de Guayaquil*.

each side of the central pole were shorter, the second shorter still, the third still shorter, that thus the *balsa* might cut through the water more easily than if they were all the same length; and the *balsas* were of the same shape at the stern as at the bow; they stretched two cords along, by which to pass from one side of the river to the other, and often, when the boatmen had failed to place them, the passengers themselves stretched them, so as to pass from one side to the other. • I remember having taken a passage in certain *balsas*, which were made in the time of the Yncas, and the Indians held them in veneration.

Besides the *balsas* they make another kind of small boat of rolled up bundles of rushes of the thickness of a bullock; they fasten them securely together; from the centre towards the bow their size diminishes, like the bow of a ship, so that they may cut through the water; from two-thirds the distance from the stem the width increases. The top of the bundles is flat for receiving the cargo.* A single Indian manages each boat. He places himself on the end of the stern, with his breast over the boat, and uses his arms and legs as oars, thus propelling it through the water. If the river is full, the boat reaches the opposite side at a point a hundred or two hundred paces lower down than where it started. When any person takes a passage, he lies down on his breast, at full length along the boat, with his head towards the boatman. He is told to take hold of the cords; and not to rise nor to open his eyes to look at anything. Once, when I was crossing a very full and rapid river in this way (for it is in such as these that people are told to do this, in quiet streams it being unnecessary,) owing to the excess of care and kindness of the Indian boatmen, who told me not to raise my head or open my eyes, I, being quite a boy, got as frightened as if the earth was going to open and the sky to fall. A desire came upon me to look

* These are the kind of boats now used on lake Titicaca.

up and see whether any enchantment or thing of the other world was to be seen. So, when I felt that we were in the middle of the river, I raised my head a little, and saw the water, and truly it seemed to me as if we were falling down from the sky, which made my head giddy, owing to the furious current of the river and the violence with which the boat dashed along. I was forced, through fear, to shut my eyes again, and to confess that the boatmen were right in telling me not to open them.

They make other *balsas* of great calabashes, entire, placed in nets, and secured one to the other, over a space of a yard and a half, more or less, according to circumstances. They place a board in front, like a saddle, where the Indian boatman places his head, and he swims along, bringing the *balsa* with him, and thus ferrying the cargo across the river, bay, or arm of the sea. If it is necessary, one or two Indians, as assistants, go behind, also swimming, and pushing the *balsa* along.

On those great rivers where, owing to the rapid current, *balsas* of calabashes and boats of rushes cannot be used, and where, owing to the rocks and other dangers, there is no beach on which to embark or disembark, they make a very thick cable of the fibre called *chahuar*,* and stretch it from one side to the other, fastening it to large trees or to strong rocks. A basket of rushes, with a handle of thick wood, fit to carry three or four persons, is made to travel along the cable. A cord is fastened to each end of it, by which it is drawn from one side to the other. The passengers inside help to pull the cords, and as the cable is so long it forms a bight in the middle, and it is necessary to haul the basket little by little till it reaches the lowest part of the cable, because it sinks very much, and thence upwards it is hauled across by the force of men's arms. Indians, sent from the neighbouring provinces, in their turns, are told off

* Aloe fibre.

for this duty, who assist travellers to cross without any recompense. The passengers in the basket help to pull at the cord, and many cross by hauling on it themselves, without any assistance. They place their feet against the basket, and haul themselves, by standing pulls, along the cable. I remember having crossed in this way two or three times, being still quite a young boy scarcely emerged from childhood, and the Indians carried me along the roads on their shoulders. They also sent their flocks across in these baskets, a few sheep at a time; but this is a troublesome business, as they struggle in the basket, and are got across with much difficulty. The same is now done with the smaller flocks of Spain, such as goats, sheep, and swine; but larger animals, such as horses, mules, asses, and cows, owing to their strength and weight, cannot be taken across in the basket. They must be sent round to bridges or to good fords. They do not use this method of crossing rivers on the main roads, but on the bye-paths which the Indians make from one village to another. They call it *uruya*.

The Indians along the coast of Peru embark on the sea to fish in the small boats we have already described. They go from four to six leagues off the land, and more if it is necessary, for that sea is generally smooth, and admits of the use of such frail barks. When they want to convey large cargoes they use the rafts of wood. The fishermen, when they navigate the sea, sit upon their legs, placing themselves on their knees upon the bundles of reeds. They row with a thick cane, a cubit in length, which they hold in the middle. There are canes* in that land as thick as a man's thigh, of which we shall say more further on. In rowing they hold the cane in both hands, one at one end of the cane and the other in the middle. The hollow part of the cane serves as a paddle to give more force in the water. As soon as they give one stroke in the water on the left side,

* Bamboos.

they shift their hands and turn the cane to give another stroke on the right side, placing the left hand where the right was, and the right where the left was. In this way they go on rowing, and changing their hands so as to pass the cane from one side to the other, and among other wonderful things connected with their fishing and navigation this is the most to be admired. When one of their boats went at full speed, it would not be overtaken by a courier, how good soever he might be. They fish with harpoons, and catch fish as large as men. This harpoon fishing resembles that of the Biscayan whale fishery. They fasten a small line to the harpoon, such as sailors call *bolatin*,* from twenty to forty cubits long, the other end being secured to the bow of the boat. When a fish is wounded, the Indian loosens his legs and embraces the boat with them, while he sends the boat onwards with his hands in chase of the fish, which is taking flight. When the line has all run out, he clutches the boat tightly with his legs, and thus raises the fish, which, if it is very large, goes along with such velocity as to appear like a bird flying through the sea. In this way the Indian and the fish continue to fight until the fish is tired, and falls into the hands of the Indian. They also fished with nets and fish hooks, but these were poor and wretched contrivances (each man fishing by himself, and not in company); for the nets were very small and the fish-hooks badly made, as they had no steel nor iron, though they had mines which they knew not how to work. They call iron *quillay*. They do not put up sails on their boats of rushes, for they have no supports to hoist them on, nor do I believe that they would go so fast with them as with their oars; but they hoist sails on their wooden rafts when they navigate the sea. These contrivances of the Indians of Peru, for navigating the sea and crossing large rivers, were in use when I left the country, and probably are so now, for those people, being

* Spun yarn.

so poor, do not aspire to better things than they already possess.* In the sixth book of the *History of Florida* we treat of these contrivances, speaking of the canoes which they make in that land for crossing and navigating those great and rapid rivers that are to be met with there. We will now return to the conquests of the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE CONQUESTS OF FIVE GREAT PROVINCES, BESIDES OTHER SMALLER ONES.

From Chayanta the Ynca marched to other provinces, having left a garrison and the necessary ministers to establish his idolatry and matters of finance. He first came to a region called Cherca, under which name many different nations are included, all of which are within the Colla-suyu division. The principal places are Tutora, Sipisipi, and Chaqui,† to the eastward of which, towards the Antis, are other provinces called Chamùru. Here they grow the herb *cuca*, although it is not so good as in the districts of Cuzco. There is another province called Sacaca, and many others which I omit, to avoid prolixity.‡ The Ynca sent the usual messages to the inhabitants.

These nations, being aware of what had happened in Chayanta, nearly all replied in the same way, saying that

* On the Peruvian coast, especially at Arica, the Indians navigated and fished in *balsas* made of inflated seal skins. Acosta says:—"The Indians of Yca and Arequipa say that they used, in former times, to navigate the ocean to some islands very far to the westward, and that they did this on inflated seal skins." Lib. i, cap. xx, p. 68.

† Near Potosi.

‡ All these places are in the province formerly called Charcas, and now forming the southern portion of the modern republic of Bolivia.

they considered it an auspicious thing to worship the Sun, and to have the Ynca, his child, for their lord; that they had heard of his laws and good government; and that they besought him to receive them under his protection, for that they offered their lives and property to conquer and subdue the surrounding nations; and that they prayed that war might not be made upon them, as they had destroyed their old idols, and adopted the new religion and laws.

The Ynca ordered an answer to be sent to them, to the effect that they need not undertake the conquest of their neighbours, for that he would take care to do so, when and how it might appear most advantageous to his people; that they had no occasion to fear any harm being done to them for having submitted to him and received his laws; for that, as soon as they had experienced the result of such conduct, they would rejoice at being able to live under a rule ordained by the Sun. After this reply they freely admitted the Ynca into all those provinces, respecting which, as no event occurred worthy of remembrance, I merely give a general account. The Ynca was two years in completing these conquests, or three, as some relate; and, having left adequate garrisons, he returned to Cuzco, visiting the intervening towns and provinces on the road. The heir, his son, was ordered to go by another way, that he might also visit the vassals, who rejoiced greatly at seeing their kings or princes in their provinces.

The Ynca was received with great rejoicing at his court. He entered, surrounded by his captains, with the Curacas of the newly conquered provinces marching in front, who came to see the imperial capital. A few days afterwards the Prince Ynca Rocca arrived, and was received with much satisfaction, and with dancing and songs composed in praise of his victories. The Ynca, having rewarded his captains, dismissed them to their homes, and he remained at his court, attending to the government of his kingdom, which now

extended from Cuzco, towards the south, for more than 180 leagues,* which is the distance to Tutyra and Chaqui. To the westward it reached the South Sea, which at one point is more than 60 leagues from Cuzco, and at another more than 80.† To the east the dominion of the Ynca extended to the river of Paucar-tampu, which is 13 leagues from the city in a straight line. To the south-east the kingdom reached as far as Callavaya, 40 leagues from Cuzco.‡ It thus seemed to the Ynca that he should not make new conquests, but that he should settle the provinces that he had acquired, by conferring benefits upon the vassals, and he was occupied in this way for some time, living in peace and quietness. He enriched the house of the Sun and of the select virgins, which the first Ynca, Manco Ccapac, had founded. He ordered other buildings to be erected within the city, as well as in the provinces, wherever it seemed desirable. He also caused great channels to be made for irrigating the land, and many bridges to be placed over the rivers and great streams for the security of travellers. He opened new roads between the different provinces, that there might be communication between all parts of his empire. In fine, he did everything that could contribute to the public good and to the well-being of his people, as well as to his own grandeur and majesty.

* This is a very fair approximation to the distance from Cuzco to Chaqui, near Potosi.

† These distances are also fairly correct.

‡ Also correct.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE PRINCE YNCA ROCCA REDUCES MANY GREAT PROVINCES, INLAND AND ON THE SEA COAST.

The Ynca was thus occupied for six or seven years, at the end of which time he thought it would be well to turn again to military exercises, and the extension of his dominions. He therefore ordered 20,000 armed men to be assembled, and with four experienced masters of the camp, to march towards Chincha-suyu, which is the northern division; under the command of the prince Ynca Rocca, his son. For the Yncas had not extended their sway in that direction beyond the limits reached by the first Ynca, Manco Ccapac. That boundary was at Rimac-tampu, seven leagues from the city. The northern division, being a rugged and thinly peopled country, the Yncas had not hitherto undertaken its conquest.

The prince and his army set out from Cuzco, reached the river Apurimac, and crossed it in great *balsas* which had been collected; and, the country being uninhabited, marched onwards to Curahnasi* and Amancay,† eighteen leagues from Cuzco. The few Indians of that neighbourhood were easily reduced. From the province of Amancay he advanced by the left hand of the high road from Cuzco to Rimac, and crossed the uninhabited region called Ccocha casa,‡ which is twenty-two leagues wide. He then entered the province called Sura, which is populous, and rich in gold and in flocks. Here the Ynca was received peacefully, and obeyed as lord of the country. Thence he passed on to another

* A rich valley, now containing several thriving sugar-cane estates, between the rivers Apurimac and Abancay.

† *Amancay* means a lily. The place is corruptly called Abancay by the Spaniards.

‡ *Ccocha* a lake, and *casa* ice, in Quichua.

province called Apucara, where he was also well received; and the reason that these provinces so readily submitted was that, being at enmity with each other, none of them was able singly to resist the Ynca.

From Apucara he marched to the province of Rucana, which is divided into two divisions, one called Rucana and the other Hatun-rucana, which means great Rucana. It is inhabited by a handsome and well disposed people, who willingly submitted. Thence the Ynca marched down to the sea coast, which the Spaniards call the *llanos*, and came to the first valley in that direction, called Nanansca. The word signifies a hurt or wound,* but it is not known for what reason it was given to this valley. It may have been from some visitation or punishment which had befallen the inhabitants. The Spaniards call it Lanasca.† The Ynca was here also received peacefully, and obeyed readily, and the same thing happened in all the other valleys between Nanasca and Arequipa, a distance of more than eighty leagues in length and fourteen or fifteen broad. The principal valleys are Acari and Camana, in which there were 20,000 inhabitants. There are other smaller and less important valleys, called Atico, Ocoña, Atequipa, and Quilca, which were all reduced to submission with great ease by the prince Ynca Rocca, because they had no power to resist him, each valley being ruled by a petty chief, and the larger ones having two or three chiefs, between whom there were feuds and animosities.

It will be proper, seeing that we are on the spot, not to proceed until we have related a strange event which took place in the valley of Acari, very soon after the Spaniards conquered it, although we shall somewhat anticipate our history in point of time. Two chiefs, neither of whom had been baptised, had a bitter quarrel respecting their bound-

* *Nanani*, I hurt. The participle is *Nanasca*, hurt or wounded.

† It is now called Nasca.

aries, insomuch that they fought a battle, in which men were killed and wounded on both sides. The Spanish governor sent a commissioner to administer justice between the parties, and arrange the dispute. He settled the boundary in the way that seemed to him to be just, and sent to order the Curacas to establish peace and friendship with each other. This they promised, although one of them, who considered that he was injured by the decision, retained his anger, and desired to avenge himself on his adversary under the veil of friendship. So, on the day when the peace was ratified, they all dined together in an open place, one faction facing the other. After dinner the Curaca rose up excitedly, taking two cups of their liquor to drink to his new friend (as is the usual custom with the Indians), one of them being poisoned, to kill him. He presented the glass to the other Curaca, who suspected the truth, and said—"Give me that other glass, and drink this yourself." The other, in order that he might not appear timid, took it in his hand, and gave the harmless glass to his enemy. He then drank the deadly poison, and died in a few hours, as well from the strength of the poison as from rage at seeing that he had killed himself when he intended to destroy his foe.

CHAPTER XIX.

THEY TAKE INDIANS FROM THE SEA COAST TO COLONISE THE COUNTRY INLAND. THE YNCA CCAPAC YUPANQUI DIES.

The Ynca took Indians of Nanasca and transported them to the banks of the river Apurimac, near the high road from Cuzco to Rimac.* For that river flows through a region which is so hot that the Indians of the cold and temperate

* Lima.

climate of the Sierra soon sicken and die in it. It has already been said that the order of the Yncas was that, when Indians were thus transported from one province to another (whom we call *Mitmac*), they should always be sent to a climate similar to that of their native land, that the change might do them no injury. It was therefore forbidden to send Indians of the *Sierra* to the *Llanos*, because they would certainly die in a few days. The Ynca, mindful of this danger, took Indians from one hot climate to inhabit another. It was only necessary to send a few to the banks of the river Apurimac, because it flows between very lofty and precipitous mountains, and has very little available land on either side of its current. The Ynca desired that this small strip of land should not be lost, but should be turned into a garden for raising the numerous and excellent fruits which ripen on the banks of that famous river.

This being done, and the usual orders having been given for the government of the newly acquired provinces, the prince Ynca Rocca returned to Cuzco, where he was very well received by his father and the court. The captains and soldiers were sent home, after having received rewards for their services in the war. The Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui resolved not to make any further conquests, for he felt that he was growing old, and he desired to confirm the people already subjugated in their allegiance. He lived for some years in peace, very carefully attending to the welfare of his vassals, who, in their turn, showed their devotion, as well in their work for the temple of the Sun, as for the other edifices, some built by order of the Ynca, and others spontaneously by the Indians to please their Sovereign, each province building those required for its own districts.

In this period of quiet and rest the Ynca Ccapac Yupanqui died. He was a very brave prince, worthy of that name of Ccapac which the Indians so highly venerated. He was mourned for in the court and throughout the empire, was

embalmed, and placed with his ancestors. He left his eldest son, Ynca Rocca, as his successor, by his wife and sister, the Coya Mama Curiyllpay. He left many other sons and daughters, legitimate and illegitimate; but as I do not know the number with certainty, I do not give it. It is believed that there were more than eighty, for most of these Yncas left one hundred or two hundred children, and some had more than three hundred sons and daughters.

CHAPTER XX.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SUN, AND OF ITS GREAT RICHES.

One of the principal idols of the Kings Yncas and their vassals was the imperial city of Cuzco, which the Indians worshipped as a sacred thing, both because it was founded by the first Ynca, Manco Ccapac, and on account of the innumerable victories which have been won by its citizens. It was also venerated as the court and home of the Yncas. This veneration was so great that it was shown even in very small things. For if two Indians of equal rank met each other in the road, one coming from and the other going to Cuzco, he who was coming from the city was accosted by the other as a superior, because he had been at Cuzco, and this respect was shown with more solemnity if the traveller was a resident, and still more if he was a native of the capital. The same feeling prevailed as regards seeds and pulses, or anything else. Whatever came from Cuzco, although in reality not superior, was preferred solely for that reason. Being thus held in such veneration, these kings ennobled the capital to the utmost of their power, with sumptuous edifices and royal palaces, some of which we shall describe. Among these the most remarkable was

the temple of the Sun, which they adorned with incredible riches, each Ynca augmenting its splendour, and excelling his predecessor. The riches of that edifice were so wonderful that I should not have the audacity to write an account of them if they had not been alluded to by all the Spanish historians of Peru; but neither what they have said, nor what I shall now say, can give an adequate idea of the reality. They attribute the edifice to the Ynca Yupanqui, grandfather of Huayna Ccapac, not because he founded it, for it had existed since the time of the first Ynca, but because he completed the adornment of the interior, and brought it to the state of splendour and majesty in which the Spaniards found it.

Coming to a description of the temple, it must be known that the house of the Sun is now the church of the divine San Domingo. As I have not got the exact length and breadth, I do not give it here. It is built of smooth masonry, very accurately and regularly placed.

The high altar (I use this term to make myself understood, though these Indians did not know anything of building an altar) was at the east end. The roof was very lofty and of wood, that there might be plenty of air; the covering of thatch, for they had not attained to the art of making tiles.* All the four walls of the temple were covered, from roof to floor, with plates and slabs of gold. In the side, where we should look for the high altar, they placed a figure of the Sun, made of a plate of gold of a thickness double that of the other plates which covered the walls. The figure was made with a circular face and rays of fire issuing from it, all of one piece, just as the Sun is represented by painters. It was so large as to occupy the whole of one side of the temple, from one wall to the other. The Yncas had no other idols in that temple save the image

* For an account of an ancient thatch roof at Azangaro, see my *Travels in Peru and India*, p. 193.

of the Sun, because they worshipped no other gods but the Sun, although there are not wanting persons who state the contrary.

This figure of the Sun, when the Spaniards entered the city, fell to the lot of a noble knight, one of the first conquerors, named Mancio Serra de Leguisamo, whom I knew, and who was alive when I went to Spain. He was a great gambler, insomuch that, though the figure of the Sun was so large, he gambled to such an extent that he lost it in one night. Hence we may observe, following the Father Acosta, that the saying originated—"He plays away the Sun before dawn." Some time afterwards the municipality of the city elected him to the office of alcalde, seeing that he was lost through his habit of gambling, and hoping to reclaim him. He entered upon this public service with so much zeal and diligence (for he possessed all the qualities of a gentleman) that he never took a card into his hands during the whole of that year. The city, seeing this, elected him for another year, and afterwards he filled public offices during several successive years. Mancio Serra, occupied in this way, forgot his gambling habits, and hated play ever afterwards, remembering the numerous difficulties and embarrassments in which it had involved him.* From this example it may be

* Mancio Serra de Leguisamo was one of the first conquerors. He marched with Alonzo de Alvarado against Almagro, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Abancay, remaining in prison at Cuzco, with many others, until he was rescued and liberated by Pizarro himself. When Gonzalo Pizarro rose against the Viceroy Blasco Nunez de Vela, Mancio Serra de Leguisamo, then become a citizen of Cuzco, joined him; but afterwards he fled to Arequipa and thence to Lima, with about forty other cavaliers, intending to rejoin the viceroy and return to his allegiance. He married an Ynca princess, Doña Beatriz Nusta, and had a son by her, who was a schoolfellow of our author. The curious dying confession of Mancio Serra de Leguisamo has been preserved by Calancha (i, cap. xv, p. 98). It is dated 1589, and addressed to Philip II. He concludes it by saying—"I pray to God that he will pardon me, for I am the last to die of all the conquerors and discoverers; it is notorious that there are none surviving except I alone, and I now do what I can

seen how much idleness fosters vice, and how profitable occupation is for the cultivation of virtue.

Returning to our history, I may say that from that piece alone, which fell to the share of a single knight, an idea can be formed of the treasure which was found in the city and temple by the Spaniards. On either side of the image of the Sun were the bodies of the dead kings, arranged according to priority, as children of that Sun, and embalmed so as to appear as if they were alive, although the process is not known. They were seated on chairs of gold, placed upon the golden slabs on which they had been used to sit. Their faces were towards the city, except that of Huayna Ccapac, which was distinguished above the rest by being placed facing the figure of the Sun, as the most beloved of his children. He deserved this; for in life he was revered as a god, by reason of his virtues and the regal qualities that he displayed from the time he was a child. The Indians hid these bodies with the rest of the treasure, most of which has not been brought to light, up to the present time. In the year 1559 the licentiate Polo discovered five of the bodies, three of kings and two of queens.*

The principal door of the temple looked to the north, as it does now, and there were other smaller doors for the service of the temple. They were all coated with plates of gold. Outside the temple, on the upper part of the walls, a cornice of gold, consisting of a plate more than a yard wide, ran round the whole building, like a crown.

to relieve my conscience." He bears witness, in this document, to th excellence of the government of the Yncas, and to the good disposition of the Indians; and confesses to all the Spanish injustice, cruelty, and oppression, in which he participated.

* One was that of the Ynca Huira-ccocha, with hair as white as snow; the second was that of the great Tupac Ynca Yupanqui; the third of Huayna Ccapac. The women were Mama Runtu, queen of Huira-ccocha, and Ccoya Mama Ocllo, mother of Huayna Ccapac. They were finally buried in the court of the hospital of San Andres at Lima. See note at p. 226 of my translation of Cieza de Leon.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE CLOISTER OF THE TEMPLE, AND OF THE EDIFICES DEDICATED TO THE MOON, STARS, THUNDER, LIGHTNING AND RAINBOW.

Beyond the temple there was a cloister with four sides, one of which was the wall of the temple. All round the upper part of this cloister there was a cornice, consisting of a plate of gold more than a yard wide, forming a crown to the cloister. In place of this gold the Spaniards caused a cornice of white plaster to be put up, of the same width, in memory of the former one, and I left it there in the walls, which were still standing, and had not been pulled down. Round the cloister there were five rooms or great halls, square, each one standing by itself, not joined to others, covered in the form of a pyramid, and these formed the other three sides of the cloister.

One of these halls was dedicated to the Moon, the wife of the Sun, and this was nearest to the principal chapel of the temple. The whole of it, with the doorways, was covered with plates of silver, which, from their white colour, denoted that it was the hall of the moon. The image, like that of the Sun, represented a woman's face on a plate of silver. They entered this hall to visit the Moon and to commend themselves to her, for they held her to be the sister and wife of the Sun, and mother of the Yncas, and all their generation. Thus they called her *Mama-quilla*, which means "Mother Moon;" but they offered up no sacrifices to her as they did to the Sun. On either side of the image of the Moon were the bodies of the dead queens, placed in their order, according to seniority. Mama Ocllo, the mother of Huayna Ccapac, was in front of the moon, face to face, and

she was thus honoured above the rest, for having been the mother of such a son.

Another of these halls, being the one nearest to that of the Moon, was dedicated to the planet Venus and the seven Pleiades, and to all the other stars. They called the star Venus *Chasca,* which means one with long and curly hair. They honoured this star, because they said that it was the page of the Sun, travelling nearest to it, sometimes in front and at others behind. They venerated the seven Pleiades because of their curious position, and the symmetry of their shape. They looked upon the host of stars as handmaidens of the Moon, and they, therefore, gave them a hall near that of their mistress, that they might be at hand for her service; for they said that the stars walk through the heavens with the Moon, as if they were her servants, and not with the Sun. This they said because they saw the stars by night and not by day.

This hall was covered with silver like that of the Moon, and the doorway was of silver. The whole roof was strewn with stars, great and small, like the heavens on a starry night. The other hall, near that of the stars, was dedicated to lightning, thunder, and the thunderbolts. They included these three things in the one word *Yllapa,* and they distinguished them by means of the verb. Thus when they said "*I saw the Yllapa,*" they meant the lightning; if they said, "*Listen to the Yllapa,*" they referred to the thunder; and when they exclaimed, "*The Yllapa has fallen in such a place,*" they alluded to a thunderbolt.

They did not worship these things as gods, but respected them as servants of the Sun. They had the same feeling with respect to them, as the ancient heathens entertained for the thunderbolt, which they looked upon as a weapon of their god Jupiter. With a similar feeling the Yncas dedicated a hall to lightning, thunder, and thunderbolts in the house of the Sun, as his servants, and the hall was lined

with gold. They had no image, nor other representation of thunder and lightning, because as they could not draw them from nature (as they always did when they made images of anything), they respected them under the name of *Yllapa*. The Spanish historians, up to the present time, have not got a correct knowledge of the threefold meaning of this word. For they have made out of it a God, three in one, which they have given to the Indians, thus assimilating their idolatry to our holy religion. They have also invented Trinities from other things, with even less colour or foundation, composing new words in the language, such as the Indians themselves never imagined. I write, as I have already said, what I sucked in my mother's milk, and saw or heard from my elders; and, touching the thunder, I have already said what else they believed concerning it.

Another hall (which was the fourth) was dedicated to the rainbow; for they had ascertained that it proceeded from the Sun; and the kings Yncas therefore adopted it for their device and blazon, as descendants of the Sun. This hall was all covered with gold. On one side of it, on the plates of gold, a rainbow was very naturally painted, of such a size that it reached from one wall to the other, and with all its colours exact. They call the rainbow *Chuychu*, and, owing to the veneration they felt for it, when they saw it in the air, they shut their mouths, and put their hands over them, for they said that if they exposed their teeth it would decay and loosen them. This was one of their foolish customs, among many others, and they could give no reason for their folly. The fifth and last hall was set apart for the high priest, and for the other priests who assisted in the services of the temple, all of whom were Yncas of the blood royal. This hall was not used by them to sleep or eat in, but as a hall of audience, to regulate the sacrifices that were to be made, and all other matters relating to the service of the temple. This hall, like the others, was also plated with gold, from floor to ceiling.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE NAME OF THE HIGH PRIESTS, AND TOUCHING OTHER PARTS OF THE TEMPLE.

The Spaniards call the chief priest *Vilaorna*, instead of *Villac Vmu*, a word composed of the verb *Villani* (I say) and of the noun *Vmu*, which means a divine or soothsayer. *Villac*, with the letter *c*, is the present participle, and, added to the word *Vmu*, the meaning is the "diviner or soothsayer who speaks." It does not explain what it is that he says, but it is understood that he says to the people what he has been directed, as chief priest, to proclaim as a command of the Sun, in accordance with their fables, and what the devils declared to him through their idols and sanctuaries. He also proclaimed what he himself, as chief priest, divined from the omens and sacrifices, and by interpreting dreams, and by other superstitions which they had in the time of their heathenry. They had no name for priest, but they composed a word from the same things that are done by priests.

Of the five images the Spaniards secured three, which still remained in their ancient positions. They only lost the benches of gold and silver, and the images of the moon and stars, which had been pulled out of the ground. Against the walls of these temples, looking towards the cloister, on the outside, there were four porches of masonry, a material of which every other part of these edifices was also built. The mouldings round the corners, and along all the inner parts of the porches, were inlaid with plates of gold, as well as the walls and even the floors. At the corners of the mouldings there were many settings of fine stones, emeralds and torquoises, but there were neither diamonds nor rubies

in that land. The Ynca sat in these porches when there were festivals in honour of the Sun, sometimes in one and at another in another, according to the time of the feast.

In two of these porches, built against a side facing to the east, I remember having seen many holes in the mouldings, made through the stones. Those in the corners passed right through, while the others were merely marks on the walls. I heard the Indians and ministers of the temple say these were the places in which the precious stones were fixed in the heathen times. The porches and all the doorways opening on the cloister, which were twelve in number (except those of the temples to the moon and stars) were inlaid with plates and slabs of gold in the form of porches, while two, to be in accordance with the white colour of their patrons, had their doorways of silver.

Besides the five great halls already mentioned, there were other buildings in the temple of the Sun, for the priests, and for the attendants who were Yncas by privilege. For no Indian, unless he was an Ynca, could enter that house, how great Lord soever he might be, nor any woman except the wives and daughters of the king himself. The priests assisted in the services of the temple, by turns of weeks reckoned from the quarters of the moon. During that space of time they refrained from their wives, and never came forth from the temple, either by day or night.

The Indians who served in the temple as servants, that is to say, the porters, sweepers, cooks, butlers, fuel carriers, guards, watermen, and performers of any other office appertaining to the service of the temple, came from the same towns as those who were servants in the royal palace, which towns were obliged to supply such persons for the palace and the temple of the Sun; these two edifices, as the homes of a father and son, having no difference whatever in matters of service, except that the women performed no duties in the temple of the Sun, and that no sacrifices were offered

in the palace. All other things were the same both as regards grandeur and majesty.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PLACES FOR THE SACRIFICES AND THE THRESHOLD WHERE THEY TOOK OFF THEIR SANDALS TO ENTER THE TEMPLE. CONCERNING THEIR FOUNTAINS.

The places where the sacrifices were consumed were in accordance with the solemnity of the rites. They were consumed in the courtyards set apart for the special festivals. The general sacrifices, offered up on the principal festival of the Sun, called *Raymi*, were made in the great square of Cuzco. Other sacrifices and festivals of less importance were celebrated in front of the temple, in a great square where they performed the dances of all the provinces and nations in the empire. No one could pass from this square to the temple except barefooted, nor could any person enter the square itself with sandals on, because it was within the limits beyond which all must go barefooted. I will describe the extent of those limits, that it may be known what they were.

Three principal streets issue from the great square of Cuzco, and run in a north and south direction towards the temple. One follows the course of the stream. Another is that which, in my time, was called the *Calle de la Carcel*, because the Spanish prison was in it. I am told that it has since been removed to another part of the city. The third issues from the corner of the *plaza*, and runs in the same direction. There is another street, further to the eastward than any of these, which is now called the *Calle de San Agustin*. By all these four streets a person may go to the temple of the Sun. But the principal and most direct street,

being that which leads to the door of the temple, is that called by us *de la Carcel*, which issues from the centre of the *plaza*. By this street they went to the temple to worship the Sun, and to bring their offerings and sacrifices, so that it was the street of the Sun. Another street crosses all these from west to east, from the stream to the street of San Agustin. This street, which crosses the others, was the limit within which all who approached the temple were obliged to go barefooted; and even if they were not going to the temple they had to bare their feet on arriving at this limit, because it was prohibited for any one to go beyond it with sandals on their feet. The distance from the street, which we have stated to be the limit, to the door of the temple, was more than two hundred paces. To the east, west, and south of the temple there were similar boundaries, on arriving at which people were forced to go barefooted.

Returning to the ornaments of the temple, there were, within the edifice, five fountains of water, that flowed from different directions. The pipes were of gold, and some of the pillars were of stone, and others were jars of gold and silver. In these fountains they washed the sacrifices, according to their importance, and to the magnificence of the festival. I have only seen one of these fountains, which was used to irrigate the vegetable garden of the monastery. The others had been lost, and even the one which I saw was lost for six or seven months, so that the garden was destroyed for want of irrigation, the whole monastery, and even the city, being concerned at the loss; for there was not an Indian who could explain whence the water of the fountain came.

The cause of the loss of the water at that time was that it came from the western side of the monastery, underground, thus passing under the stream which flows through the city. This stream, in the time of the Yncas, was lined and paved with masonry, the floor being of large flags, so that it might

not be injured by the freshes; and this masonry work extended for a quarter of a league beyond the city. Owing to the negligence of the Spaniards, it has fallen out of repair. For this stream (although it generally contains very little water, for it rises almost within the city) is subject to violent freshes, when it is wonderfully swollen, and thus breaks up the flags and masonry.

In the year 1558 it happened that the water tore up the flagstones in the bed of the stream, just over the place where the pipe of the fountain was laid down, breaking the pipe itself; so that the garden was left without water, and the silt, brought down by the stream every year, concealed the position of the pipe, so that no sign was left of it.

The friars, although they tried all they could to find the spring, were unsuccessful; and it would have been necessary to pull down many edifices, and to dig very deep, in order to follow the course of the pipe from the fountain, because the fountain was on high ground, nor could they find an Indian to guide them in their search. For this reason they cared no more for that fountain, nor for the others which the edifice contained. From this circumstance it may be gathered that those Indians, at the present day, have few traditions of ancient times, seeing that after only forty-two years they had forgotten so important a thing as the origin of the waters which flowed to the house of their god the Sun. It seems impossible but that there must have been some tradition handed down from forefathers to their descendants and from the priests to their successors, so that the memory of this spring might not be lost. It is true that in those times the priests of the former state of things had come to an end, among whom the traditions were preserved, which bore upon the service and honour of the temple. This, and many other traditions concerning which the Indians can give no account, are now lost. If the information had been handed down in the knots which recorded the tribute, or in

the allotments of the royal services, or in the histories of successive reigns, which are profane matters, no doubt the particulars respecting these fountains would have been preserved; like many other things, the memory of which has been preserved by the accountants and historians. But even these are fading away and being superseded by new stories and the modern history of another order of things.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THE GARDEN OF GOLD, AND OF OTHER COSTLY THINGS IN THE TEMPLE, IN IMITATION OF WHICH THERE ARE MANY OTHERS IN THE TEMPLES OF THAT EMPIRE.

Returning to the fountain, I have to say that, after it had been lost for six or seven months, some little Indian boys were playing along the side of the stream, when they saw the spring of water coming up through the broken and hitherto stopped up pipe. At the novelty of the sight they called others to behold it, until at last some older Indians and Spaniards came, who suspected that, from being so near the convent, it was the water which had been lost. They ascertained the direction taken by the pipe, and seeing that it led towards the buildings, they felt that their conjecture was correct, and gave notice to the monks. The holy men repaired the pipes with great care, although not with the efficiency that was afterwards attained, and brought back the water to their garden, without further attempts to find whence it came. It is certain that there is much earth above the water, for the pipes are very deep in the ground.

That garden, which now supplies the convent with vegetables, was in the time of the Yncas a garden of gold and silver, such as they also had in the royal palaces. It con-

tained many herbs and flowers of different kinds, many small plants, many large trees, many large and small animals both wild and domestic, and creeping things, such as serpents, lizards, and toads, as well as shells, butterflies, and birds. Each of these things was placed in its natural position. There was also a large field of maize, the grain they call quinua, pulses, and fruit trees with their fruit; all made of gold and silver. There were also, in the building, billets of wood imitated in gold and silver, and great figures of men, and women, and children, as well as granaries, called *pirua*, all for the ornamenting and the majesty of the house of the Sun their god.

Every year, on the occasion of the principal feasts, new objects in gold and silver were presented to the temple, so that its wealth continued to increase; for all the silversmiths, dedicated to the service of the Sun, had no other business than to make these things. There was also a vast quantity of pots, vases, and jars in the temple. In fine, there was in that edifice no article of any kind which was not made of gold and silver, even down to the spades and hoes for use in the garden. Hence, with good reason, they called the temple of the Sun, and the building attached to it, CORICANCHA, which means a "court of gold."

In imitation of this temple of the city of Cuzco, others were made in the provinces, of many of which, and of the house of the select virgins, Pedro de Cieza de Leon makes mention in his account of that land, in which he describes it province by province, though he does not mention all the temples, but only those which are met with on the main roads, leaving in oblivion those in the great provinces on the right and left of the roads. I also shall omit special mention of them, to avoid prolixity, for it is unnecessary to specify them, seeing that I shall describe the principal temple, and that all the others are much alike.

Each Curaca was bound to adorn the temple in his district

in proportion to his wealth in gold and silver, as well to serve and honour his God, as to shew respect to his king, who was a child of the Sun. So that all those temples of the provinces vied with that of Cuzco in their platings of gold and silver.

The nearest relations of the Curacas were the priests of the temples of the Sun. The chief priest of each large province, as bishop, was an Ynca of the blood royal; for the sacrifices offered to the Sun were ordered in conformity with the rites and ceremonies of Cuzco, and not with the superstitions of each province, the practice of which was prohibited. Such were the sacrificing of men, women, and children; the eating of human flesh; and other very barbarous things practised in the first age of heathenry, which were forbidden by the Yncas. In order that the people might not return to these wicked habits, they were obliged to have an Ynca, who was a noble of the blood royal, as their high priest.

The high priests of Ynca blood were also sent to do honour to the vassals, for, as we have already said, the people in many parts highly valued the presence of an Ynca as their superior—their priest in time of peace, and their leader in war. Thus they felt that they were inferior members of a body, the head of which was represented by an Ynca. This will suffice respecting that most rich and costly temple, though much more might be said by one who understood better how to describe it.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE FAMOUS TEMPLE OF TITICACA, AND OF THE FABLES AND ALLEGORIES CONCERNING IT.

Among the other famous temples that were dedicated to the Sun, in Peru, and might compete with that of Cuzco in costly ornaments of gold and silver, there was one on the island called Titicaca, which means "the rock of lead." The name is composed of *titi* which is "lead," and *caca* which is "a hill," both syllables being pronounced at the back of the throat. For, if the word is pronounced as the letters sound in Spanish, it means an uncle, the brother of a mother. The lake called Titicaca, took its name from the island, which is about two shots of an arquebus from the mainland. It is five to six-hundred paces round. The Yncas say that it was on this island that the Sun placed his two children, male and female, when he sent them down to instruct the barbarous people who then dwelt on the earth. To this fable they add another of more ancient origin. They say that, after the deluge, the rays of the Sun were seen on this island, and on the great lake, before they appeared in any other part. The lake is eighty fathoms deep, and eighty leagues round. Father Blas Valera, writes that the reason why ships cannot sail on the waters of the lake is that it contains much loadstone; but of this I can say nothing.

The first Ynca, Manco Ccapac, taking advantage of the ancient fable, and assisted by his own genius and sagacity, seeing that the Indians venerated the lake and the island as sacred things, composed a second fable; saying, that he and his wife were children of the Sun; and that their father had placed them on that island, that they might thence pass

through the country, teaching the people in the manner that has been fully related in the beginning of this history. The Yncas Amautas, who were the philosophers and learned men of the State, reduced the first fable to the second; teaching it as a prophecy, if one may use such a term. They said that the Sun having shed his first rays on that island, whence to illuminate the world, was a sign and promise that on the same spot he would place his own children; whence to go forth instructing the natives, and drawing them away from the savage condition in which they lived; as those kings actually did in after times. With these and similar fables, the Yncas made the Indians believe that they were children of the Sun; and they confirmed this belief by the numerous benefits they conferred upon the people. Owing to these two traditions, the Yncas, and all the people under their sway, looked upon that island as a sacred place; and they ordered a very rich temple, lined with gold plates, and dedicated to the Sun, to be erected on it. Here all the vassals of the Ynca, offered up much gold and silver, and precious stones every year, as a token of gratitude to the Sun, for the two acts of grace which had taken place on that spot. This temple, had the same service as that of Cuzco. There was said to be such a quantity of gold and silver, as offerings, heaped up in the island, besides what was worked for the use of the temple, that the stories of the Indians concerning it are more wonderful than credible. The Father Blas Valera, speaking of the riches of this temple, and of the quantity of wealth that had been collected there, says that the Indian colonists (called *Mitmac*) who lived in Copacavana, declared that the quantity of gold and silver, heaped up as offerings, was so great that another temple might have been made out of it, from the foundations to the roof, without using any other materials. But as soon as the Indians heard of the invasion of the country by the Spaniards, and that they were seizing all the treasure they could find, they threw the whole of it into the great lake.

Another story of a similar kind occurs to me. In the valley of Urcos, six leagues to the southward of Cuzco, there is a small lake, less than half a league in circumference, but very deep, and surrounded by high mountains. It is commonly reported that the Indians threw much of the treasure of Cuzco into it, as soon as they knew that the Spaniards were approaching; and, among other costly things, they threw in the chain of gold which Huayna Ccapac ordered to be made, and which I shall mention in its proper place. Twelve or thirteen Spaniards, inhabitants of Cuzco, not of the number of those who possess Indians, but merchants and traders, formed a company of profit or loss, to drain that lake and secure the treasure. They sounded the lake and found that its depth was twenty-three to twenty-four fathoms, without counting the mud at the bottom, which was also deep. They agreed to make a tunnel to the eastward of the lake, where the river called Yucay flows, because in that direction the land is lower than the bottom of the lake, so that they would thus be able to draw off the water and leave the lake dry. For in other directions they could not drain it, because it was surrounded by mountains. They did not open the drain by digging from the surface, as it seemed more economical to excavate underground, by means of a horizontal tunnel. They began their work in the year 1557, with great hopes of obtaining the treasure, and excavated for a distance of fifty paces. Then they came to a rock, which they tried to break, but it turned out to be of flint, and they saw that more fire came from their blows than stone. After spending many ducats of their wealth, they lost heart, and gave up the attempt. I entered the tunnel two or three times when the work was going on. It is a general belief, not confined to these Spaniards, that the Indians concealed a vast amount of treasure in lakes, caves, and forests, which now is beyond hope of recovery.

The Kings Yncas, besides the temple and its rich orna-

ments, greatly ennobled that island of Titicaca, because it was the spot were their first ancestors originally appeared, coming from heaven, as they themselves declared. The island was levelled as completely as possible, rocks and cliffs being removed, and terraces being constructed. These terraces were filled with good and fertile earth, brought from a distance, in which maize might be cultivated, for in that region the climate is so cold that maize can by no means be raised. In these terraces they sowed other seeds; and, among other advantages obtained from them, they furnished a harvest of maize in small quantity, the heads of which were conveyed to the king as sacred, and deposited in the temple of the Sun, as well as with the select virgins who were in Cuzco, and in the other convents and temples throughout the kingdom, one year to some, and another to others, that all might enjoy the possession of those grains, which, as it were, had come from heaven. They sowed them in the gardens of the temples of the Sun, and of the convents of virgins in the provinces, and the harvests from them were distributed amongst the people. Some of these grains were placed in the granaries of the Sun, and in those of the king and the state, that they might, as sacred things, guard, enrich, and protect from corruption the bread, which was garnered for general sustenance. The Indian who could obtain a grain of that maize to place in his ears believed that he would never want for bread during the remainder of his life. To such a point did their superstition reach' in any matter relating to their Yncas.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

FOURTH BOOK

OF THE

ROYAL COMMENTARIES OF THE YNCAS.

IT TREATS OF THE VIRGINS DEDICATED TO THE SUN, AND OF THE LAW AGAINST THOSE WHO MAY VIOLATE THEM. IT DESCRIBES THE WAY IN WHICH THE COMMON INDIANS WERE MARRIED, AND ALSO HOW THE MARRIAGE OF THE HEIR TO THE CROWN WAS CELEBRATED. ALSO HOW ESTATES WERE INHERITED, AND HOW CHILDREN WERE BROUGHT UP. IT GIVES AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF THE YNCA ROCCA, AND OF HIS CONQUESTS, OF THE SCHOOLS HE FOUNDED, AND OF HIS SAYINGS. IT ALSO RELATES THE EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF THE SEVENTH YNCA YAHUAR-HUACCAC, AND GIVES AN ACCOUNT OF A STRANGE APPARITION WHICH APPEARED TO THE PRINCE HIS SON.

IT CONTAINS TWENTY-FOUR CHAPTERS.

THE FOURTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

THE HOUSE OF THE VIRGINS DEDICATED TO THE SUN.

The Kings Yncas had, in their vain religion, great things worthy of much attention, and one of these was the perpetual virginity which women observed in many conventual houses, that were built for them in the different provinces of the empire. In order that it may be understood what women these were, to whom they were dedicated, and in what employments they were occupied, I shall relate how all this was; for the Spanish historians who treat of this matter pass it by like the proverb which says—"the cat out of the arms." I shall treat specially of the house at Cuzco, because all the others which were established throughout Peru were on the same model.

The quarter of the city of Cuzco called *Aclla-huasi*, which signifies the house of the chosen ones, is between the two streets issuing from the great square and leading to the convent of Santo Domingo, which used to be the temple of the Sun. One of these streets is that which issues from the corner of the square on the left hand side of the cathedral, running north and south. When I left that city in the year 1560, this street was the principal mart for shopkeepers. The other street is that which issues from the centre of the square, near the prison, and goes straight to the convent of Santo Domingo, also running north and south. The front of the house faced the square, between these two streets, and the back of it extended to the street which crosses them from east to west, so that it was in an island, as it

were, between these three streets and the square.* Between it and the temple of the Sun there was another very large block of houses, and there were houses round the great square in front of the temple. From all this it may clearly be seen that those historians give an erroneous account of the city, when they say that the virgins dwelt in the temple of the Sun, and that they were priestesses who assisted the priests in their sacrifices. For there is a great distance between one building and the other, and it was the intention of the Kings Yncas that no man should enter the house of the virgins, and that no woman should enter the temple of the Sun. It was called the house of the chosen ones, because they were selected by reason either of their lineage, or of their beauty. They were obliged to be virgins; and to ensure their being so, they were set apart at the age of eight years and under.

And as these virgins of the house at Cuzco were dedicated to the Sun, they were obliged to be of the same blood, that is to say, daughters of the Yncas, either of the King or of his relations, being free from all foreign blood. Those who were not of pure blood could not enter the house at Cuzco of which we are now speaking. They gave as a reason for this that as they could only offer virgins for the service of the Sun, so it was likewise unlawful to offer a bastard with mixed foreign blood. For though they imagined that the Sun had children, they considered that they ought not to be bastards, with mixed divine and human blood. So the virgins were of necessity legitimate and of the blood royal, which was the same as being of the family of the Sun. There were usually as many as 1500 virgins, but no rule existed which limited their number.

Within the house there were women who had grown old

* The walls of the *Aclla-huasi* or House of the chosen virgins, are still standing, exactly in the position described in the text. They form part of the convent of Santa Catalina.

in the service, and who were called *Mama-cuna*, which, literally translated, would mean matrons; but the exact signification of the word is a woman who has to perform the duties of a mother. It is composed of the words *Mama* (a mother) and of the particle *Cuna*, which has numerous meanings, according to the sense in which it is used, and its position in the sentence.* This was an appropriate name for the aged women, because some held the office of abbesses, others of mistresses of the novices, to instruct them in the worship of their idolatry, and in their duties, such as weaving and sewing. Others were portresses, others had to look after the supplies and to ask for what was needed. Their needs were most abundantly furnished forth from the estates of the Sun, whose servants they were.

CHAPTER II.

THE RULES AND DUTIES OF THE CHOSEN VIRGINS.

They lived in perpetual seclusion to the end of their lives, and preserved their virginity; and they were not permitted to converse, or have intercourse with, or to see any man, nor any woman who was not one of themselves. For it was said that the women of the sun should not be made common by being seen of any; and this seclusion was so strict that even the Ynca did not allow himself the privilege of seeing and conversing with them, in order that no other might venture to seek a similar privilege; only the Ccoya, who was queen, and her daughters, had leave to enter the house and converse with the virgins, both young and old.

The Ynca sent the queen and her daughters to visit the secluded virgins, and thus to learn how they were, and what

* *Cuna* is the plural particle for nouns.

they needed. I saw this house when it was entire, for the house of the virgin, the temple of the sun, and four great enclosures which had been palaces of their Yncas, were the only buildings which were respected by the Indians in their general insurrection against the Spaniards, and which they did not burn. They destroyed all the others, but these they spared because one had been the house of the sun their god, and the other of the virgins of their kings. Among other arrangements in the house of the virgins, there was a narrow passage, admitting of only two people to walk abreast, which traversed the whole building. In this passage there were many recesses on either hand, which were used as offices where the women worked. At each door there was a careful portress, and in the last recess, at the end of the passage, were the women of the sun. The house had its chief entrance, which was opened to no one but the queen, and to receive those who came to be nuns.

At the commencement of the passage, where was the door used for ordinary occasions, there were twenty porters to carry things required for the house to the second door. But they were not allowed to pass the second door on pain of death, even if they were called from within, and no one might call them.

There were, for the service of the virgins and of the house, five hundred girls, who were also obliged to be virgins, daughters of those Yncas by courtesy who received that title from the first Ynca as a reward for submitting to his rule. But they were not of the blood royal, and were employed not as women dedicated to the sun, but as servants. They were not allowed to be daughters of strangers, but of the Yncas by privilege. These girls had their *mama-cunas* of the same caste as themselves, who taught them their duties. These *mama-cunas* were those who had grown old in the house, and who then received the name and the office, as if it had been said to them, "Now you may become a mother and a

mistress of the house." In the division which the Spaniards made amongst those who settled in Cuzco, of the royal buildings, one half of this convent fell to the share of Pedro del Barco,* of whom we shall make mention further on. This was the part containing the offices. The other half was given to the Licentiate de la Gama,† whom I knew in my childhood, and afterwards it belonged to Diego Orton de Guzman,‡ a native of Seville whom I knew, and who was alive when I started for Spain.

* Pedro del Barco, a native of Lobon in Estremadura, was one of Pizarro's followers. He accompanied Hernando de Soto from Caxamarco to Cuzco, and these two intrepid Spaniards were thus the first Europeans to enter the imperial city of the Yncas. They returned to Caxamarca with news of the wonderful riches they had seen in the palaces and temples of the capital. Pedro del Barco afterwards received half the convent of the Virgins of the Sun as his share of the spoils of Cuzco. He sold it to an apothecary named Hernando de Segovia, who accidentally discovered a treasure, under the pavement, worth 72,000 ducats. This Segovia was personally known to our author in Cuzco, and afterwards the Ynca saw him at Seville, when he came home with a large fortune. He died of grief and sadness at having left the city of Cuzco; a fate which, we are told by the Ynca, befell others whom he had known both in Cuzco and afterwards in Spain.

When Gonzalo Pizarro rose in rebellion, many of the citizens of Cuzco were forced to join him; but Pedro del Barco, with others, fled from his army while it was marching to Lima, and went to Arequipa. Thence he and his companions travelled by land to Lima, intending to join the Viceroy; but they were captured by Gonzalo Pizarro and thrown into prison. Soon afterwards Gonzalo's cruel old Lieutenant Carbajal took Pedro del Barco and two others out of prison, and hanged them on a tree outside the walls of Lima. Carbajal laughed and jeered at the unfortunate victims, and told Barco he would be allowed to choose which branch he fancied most, because he was a wealthy man, and one of the original conquerors of Peru. The half-caste orphan children of Pedro del Barco were adopted and treated with great kindness by Garcilasso de la Vega, the Ynca historian's father. One of them, an old schoolfellow of our author, was afterwards banished to Chile by the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo.

† This lawyer held a bloody assize after the battle of Chupas, and put many of the younger Almagro's followers to death, at Guamanga.

‡ This cavalier distinguished himself on the royal side in the bloody

The principal duty of the virgins of the sun was to weave and to make all that the Ynca wore on his person, and likewise all the clothes of his legitimite wife the Ccoya. They also wove all the very fine clothes which were offered as sacrifices to the sun. That which the Ynca wore as a band round his head was called *llautu*. It was the width of the little finger and very thick, so as to be almost square, being passed four or five times round the head, and the crimson fringe which hung from it went from one temple to the other.

The Ynca's dress was a tunic descending to the knees, called *uncu*. The Spaniards call it *cusmo*, but this is a word belonging to some provincial dialect, and not to the general language. They also had a square mantle in place of a cloak, called *yacolla;* the nuns also made for the Ynca certain bags which were square; they were worn under one arm, secured by a highly embroidered band, two fingers in width, passed from the left shoulder to the right side. These bags were called *chuspa*, and were solely used for carrying the herb called *cuca*, which the Yncas ate, and which was not then so common as it is now;* for only the Yncas and his relations, and some Curacas, to whom the Ynca extended this favour, were allowed to use it, and to these a few baskets (*cestos*) were sent every year.

The nuns also made small tassels of two colours, yellow and red, called *paycha*, fastened to a fine band about a cubit long, which were not for the Ynca but for those of the blood royal, who wore them round their heads and the tassel fell over the left temple.

battle of Chupas, when the younger Almagro was defeated by Vaca de Castro. He was robbed of much silver by the rebel Giron, in a subsequent insurrection at Cuzco.

* In these days no Peruvian Indian is without his gaily coloured *chuspa*, containing his beloved coca leaves.

CHAPTER III.

THE VENERATION IN WHICH THE THINGS WERE HELD THAT WERE MADE BY THE CHOSEN VIRGINS; AND THE LAW THAT WAS MADE AGAINST THOSE WHO MIGHT VIOLATE THEM.

The nuns made all these things with their own hands, in great quantities for the Sun, their husband; but, as the Sun could not dress nor fetch the ornaments, they sent them to the Ynca, as his legitimate son and heir, that he might wear them. The Ynca received them as things sacred, and he and all his people held them in greater veneration than the Greeks and Romans would have done if, during the time of their idolatry, such things had been made by their goddesses, Juno, Venus, and Pallas. For these gentiles of the new world, being more simple than those of antiquity, worshipped with extreme veneration and heartfelt adoration that which, in their vain religion, they looked upon as sacred and divine. As those things were made by the hands of the Ccoyas, or wives of the Sun, and were made for the Sun, and as these women were by birth of the same blood as the Sun, for all these reasons their work was held in great veneration. So that the Ynca could not give the things made by the virgins to any person whatever who was not of the blood royal, because they said that it was unlawful for ordinary mortals to use divine things. The Yncas were prohibited from giving them to the Curacas, or captains, how great soever their services might have been, unless they were relations. Further on we shall relate what other clothes the Ynca presented to the Curacas, viceroys, and governors, as a mark of great favour.

Besides the above duties, the nuns had to make the bread

called *cancu* at the proper season, for the sacrifices that were offered up to the Sun at the great festivals called *Raymi* and *Situa*. They also made the liquor which the Ynca and his family drank on those occasions, which in their language is called *aca*, the last syllable being pronounced in the fauces, for if it is pronounced as the Spanish letters would sound, it means dung. All the furniture of the convent, down to the pots, pans, and jars, were of gold and silver, as in the temple of the sun, because the virgins were looked upon as his wives. They also had a garden of trees, plants, herbs, birds, and beasts, made of gold and silver, like that in the temple.

The things we have mentioned were those which the nuns were chiefly occupied in making. All things relating to them were in conformity with the life and conversation of women who observed perpetual seclusion and virginity. There was a law for the nun who should transgress this rule of life, that she should be buried alive and that her accomplice should be strangled. But as it seemed to them but a slight punishment only to kill a man for so grave an offence as the violation of a woman dedicated to the Sun, his god, and the father of his kings, the law directed that the wife, children, servants, and relations of the delinquent should be put to death, as well as all the inhabitants of his village and all their flocks, without leaving a suckling nor a crying baby, as the saying is. The village was pulled down and the site strewn with stones, that the birth-place of so bad a son might for ever remain desolate and accursed, where no man nor even beast might rest.

This was the law, but it was never put into execution, because no man ever transgressed it; for, as we have said in other places, the Indians of Peru were very fearful of breaking the laws, and kept them very carefully, especially those relating to their religion and their king. But if any one had broken this law, the sentence would have been literally executed without any remission whatever, as if it had been

only a matter of killing a small dog. For the Yncas never made laws to frighten their vassals, but always with the intention of enforcing them on those who ventured to transgress.

CHAPTER IV.

THERE WERE MANY OTHER HOUSES OF VIRGINS. THE STATEMENT RESPECTING THE RIGOROUS LAW IS VERIFIED BY ZARATE.

All that has been said was with reference to the convent of the virgins of Cuzco, dedicated to the Sun. There were many others like it in other parts of the kingdom, in provinces where the Ynca, as a great privilege, ordered them to be built. Into these were admitted, not only maidens of the blood royal, but also those of mixed blood. As a great favour, the daughters of the Curacas were also allowed to enter; and those of the common people, who were very beautiful, were selected as concubines of the Ynca, but not of the Sun. Their parents held it to be their greatest happiness to have the girls chosen as concubines of the king, as did the girls themselves.

These girls were guarded with the same care and vigilance as those of the Sun. They had servant-maids like the others, and were maintained out of the estates of the Ynca, because they were his women. They could do the same work as those of the Sun, weaving and sewing, making clothes in very great quantities for the Ynca, and making all the other things we have mentioned as being the work of the virgins of the Sun. The Ynca distributed the work of these girls among the royal family, the Curacas, war captains, and all other persons whom he desired to honour with presents. These gifts were not prohibited, because they were made by

the Yncas and for him, and not by the virgins of the Sun for the Sun.

These houses also contained *Mama-cunas*, who ruled over the virgins, in the same manner as those at Cuzco. In fine, all things were the same, except that in Cuzco all the virgins must be of the blood royal, and must preserve perpetual virginity; while women of all kinds were admitted into the other houses, so long as they were virgins and very beautiful, because they were for the use of the Ynca. When he asked for one, they selected the most beautiful, to be sent to where he was, as his concubine.

The same severe law existed against delinquents who violated the women of the Ynca as against those who were guilty with virgins dedicated to the sun, as the crime was considered to be the same, but it was never enforced because it was never transgressed. In confirmation of what I have stated touching the rigorous law against offenders who violated the women of the sun, or of the Ynca, the accountant Augustin de Zarate, speaking of the causes of the violent death of Atahualpa (book ii, chap. 7) has the following passage, which, being illustrative of my remarks, is extracted word for word:—"As this evidence was from the mouth of the same Filipillo, he gave such interpretation as suited his purposes; but his motives never could be clearly understood. These were probably one out of two: either this Indian had an intrigue with one of the women of Atahualpa, and desired, by his death, to enjoy her in security, the news of which had reached Atahualpa, who complained to the governor, saying, that he felt this insult more than his imprisonment and all his other misfortunes, even if death should be included in them; that so base born an Indian should so injure him, knowing the law that existed in that land against such a crime. For he who transgressed in this way, or even attempted to transgress, was burnt alive with his parents, sons, brothers, and relations, even down to his

flocks, and his native land was depopulated and sown with salt, the trees cut down, the house destroyed, and other great punishments were inflicted in memory of the crime." So far is from Augustin de Zarate, and it shows that he had received a full account of this law. I found the passage after I had written what I knew about it, and I was rejoiced to meet with so full an account of the law by a Spanish gentleman, who thus supports me with his authority; for although the other historians speak of this law, all they say is that the culprits were punished with death, without adding that the same penalty was incurred by their children, parents, relations, and all the inhabitants of their villages, even down to the animals, and that the trees were pulled up, and the sites strewn with stones, or with salt, which is all the same. All this was contained in the law, so as to magnify the offence and mark the greatness of the crime; and so it appeared in the eyes of the poor Ynca Atahualpa, who declared that he felt that insult more than his imprisonment, and all his other misfortunes, even if they included death itself.

Those who had once been sent out as concubines of the king, could not again return to the convent, but served in the royal palace as servants of the queen, until they obtained permission to return to their homes, where they received houses and lands, and were treated with much veneration, for it was a very great honour to the whole neighbourhood to have near them a woman of the Ynca. Those who did not attain to the honour of being concubines of the king, remained in the convent until they were very old, and then had permission to return home, or else died in the convent.

CHAPTER V.

THE SERVICE AND ORNAMENTS OF THE VIRGINS, AND HOW THEY WERE NEVER GIVEN IN MARRIAGE TO ANY ONE.

Those who were set apart for the reigning King were, when he died, called the mothers of his successor, and then received the name of *mama-cuna* with more propriety, because they had become mothers. These taught and had charge of the concubines intended for the new king, as if they had been their daughters-in-law. Each convent had its governor, who was obliged to be an Ynca, as well as a steward, a caterer, and other necessary officers to superintend the service of the king's women, who, although concubines, were called wives. In all the houses of virgins selected for the king, the utensils were of gold and silver, as in the houses of virgins of the Sun and in the famous temple, and also (as we shall presently relate) in the royal palace. In short, it may be affirmed that all the wealth of gold and silver and jewels, that was found in that empire, was used in no other way than in the adornment and service of the numerous temples of the Sun and convents of virgins, and of the royal palaces. The quantity used by the Curacas was small, being only for drinking cups, and these were limited in size and number, according to the privilege that the Ynca may have granted to each. Another small quantity was used on the robes with which they celebrated the great festivals.

The statement that virgins were taken from the convents to be given to Curacas and famous captains who had deserved well from the Ynca, as their wives, is an error into which the author of it fell, through the false account that he

received. For, when once dedicated as a woman of the Ynca, it was unlawful to lower any maiden from that estate, or to permit the possibility of any one being able to say, "This was once a woman of the Ynca." Such a practice would have profaned what was sacred, for, next to the property of the Sun, that which belonged to the Yncas was held most sacred, especially the women. It would not be permitted that such an insult should be offered as would be involved in lowering one of the women of the Ynca to be the wife of a private person; for, even in matters of very slight importance, no affront was allowed from any one, how much more in an affair of such magnitude, it being considered better to be the slave of the Ynca than the wife of a lord of vassals, who were themselves slaves of the Ynca. We say this, although it was not understood what it was to be a slave. The women were venerated as things sacred, as belonging to the Ynca, while to be the wife of a Curaca was not valued more than any other common woman in comparison with the property of the Ynca. All these practices were considered by the Indians as important, and observed with the greatest care, because they held their kings not only to be possessed of royal majesty, but to be gods.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE WOMEN WHO WERE FAVOURED BY THE YNCA.

It is true that the Yncas gave women to distinguished persons in their service, such as Curacas and captains, and the like. But these were daughters of other captains, whom the Ynca took to present as wives to those who served him well; and he who received a girl from the Ynca did not consider himself less favoured and gratified than he from

whom the Ynca asked his daughter; for the Ynca had taken the girl to make her his own jewel, and then to give her hand to one who had served him well. In the favours of the Ynca, the gift was not so much valued, however great it might be, as the fact that it had been received at the majestic hands of the Ynca, which was looked upon as a divine and not a human favour.

The Ynca also gave, although on rare occasions, girls who were of the blood royal, but illegitimate, to Curacas who were lords of great provinces, as well to do them a favour as to oblige them for having been loyal vassals. Thus it was that, having so many women to give away, it was not necessary for the king to part with any who had been dedicated in the convents; for this would have been an insult to him, to the women, and to religion. Such women were looked upon as inviolate; for, if they were legitimate, they became virgins of the Sun or of the Ynca, it being a custom to have concubines of the blood royal; or else they were women of another Ynca, and, in either of these three states, they were looked upon as sacred, and it was not lawful that they should become the wives of an ordinary mortal, how grand a lord soever he might be, for this would be to contaminate that blood which was held to be divine. But, as an illegitimate girl was already fallen from this false divinity, it was not considered an offence to give her as a wife to a great lord.

CHAPTER VII.

OF OTHER WOMEN WHO PRESERVED THEIR VIRGINITY, AND OF THE WIDOWS.

Besides the virgins who professed perpetual virginity in the monasteries, there were many women of the blood royal who led the same life in their own houses, having taken a vow of chastity, though they were not secluded; for they did not cease to visit their nearest relations when they were sick, or in childbirth, or when their first-borns were shorn and named. These women were held in great veneration for their chastity and purity, and, as a mark of worship and respect, they were called *Ocllo*, which was a name held sacred in their idolatry. The chastity of these women was not feigned, but was truly observed, on pain of being burnt alive if it was lost, or of being cast into the lake of lions. I myself was acquainted with one of these women, when she was in extreme old age, and who, having never married, was called Ocllo. She sometimes visited my mother, and I was given to understand that she was her great aunt, being a sister of her grandfather. She was held in great veneration and was given the first place, and I am witness that my mother so treated her, as well because she was her aunt, as on account of her age and purity of life.

The chastity of the widows must not be forgotten, which they preserved, with great strictness, during the first year of their bereavement, and very few of those who had no children ever married again, and even those who had continued to live single; for this virtue was much commended in their laws and ordinances. It was there directed that the lands of the widows should be tilled first, before those of either the Curacas or the Yncas, and other privileges were con-

ceded to them. It is also true that the Indians did not approve of marriage with a widow, especially if the man was not a widower; for it was said that such an one lost, I know not what, of his quality in marrying a widow. The above remarks are the most note-worthy that can be made respecting the virgins and widows.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW THEY USUALLY MARRIED, AND HOW THEY ARRANGED THE WEDDINGS.

It will be well to treat of the mode of marrying throughout all the kingdoms and provinces subject to the Yncas. It must be understood, then, that every year, or every two years, at a certain time, the king ordered all the young men and women of marriageable ages, who were of his family, to assemble in the city of Cuzco. The girls were from eighteen to twenty years of age, and the young men twenty-four and upwards; and they were not permitted to marry earlier, because it was said that they ought to be of an age to govern their houses and estates, and that if they married earlier their conduct would be childish.

The Ynca placed himself in the midst of the contracting parties, who were arranged near each other, and, looking upon them, called the man and the woman to him, and taking a hand of each, he united them in the bond of matrimony, and then delivered them to their parents. They were taken to the house of the bridegroom's father, and the wedding was solemnised by the nearest relations during two or four or six days, or longer if they desired it. These were the legitimate women, and to do them more honour and favour, they were called in their language, "the women given in marriage by the hand of the Ynca." After

the king had married the girls of his own lineage, he, on the following day, deputed his ministers to marry, with the same ceremonies, the other sons and daughters of citizens, preserving the distinction between the inhabitants of upper and lower Cuzco, concerning which divisions we gave a full account in the beginning of this history.

The houses for the residence of such bridegreoms as were Yncas, of whom we are now speaking, were prepared by the Indians of those provinces whose duty it was, according to the division of labour which was established. The things for the use of the household were provided by their relations, each one supplying something, and there were no other ceremonies nor sacrifices. And if the Spanish historians assert that they practised other things in their marriages, it is because they do not understand how to distinguish between the usages of the different provinces. Hence it is that they have attributed to the Yncas the barbarous customs which prevailed in various provinces before they were subjugated, and which not only were not practised by the Yncas, but were prohibited by them on pain of severe punishment.

The Yncas had no other marriage ceremony than that which we have described; and at the same time the order was sent throughout the empire that each governor in his district, jointly with the Curaca of the province, should marry the young men and women who were of proper age; and the Curacas were directed to assist at the weddings as lords and fathers of the people; for the Ynca never deprived the Curacas of any part of their authority, and the Ynca Governor assisted at the weddings which the Curaca solemnised, not as in any way usurping his jurisdiction, but in order to approve, in the name of the king, of the proceedings of the Curaca with his vassals.

In the marriages of the common people, the authorities of each village had to see that a house was built for each mar-

ried couple, and the relations provided the furniture. It was not lawful for the natives of one province to marry with those of another, nor those of one village with those of another, but all were to intermarry in their own villages and with members of their own families (as amongst the tribes of Israel), in order that the lineages and tribes might not be confounded and mixed, one with another. The sisters were reserved, and all those of one village were lookéd upon as relations (like sheep of one fold), and the people of one province were considered as of one nation and language. Nor was it lawful for any one to remove from one province, or village, to another, because it was not allowed that the decuria should be confused, which were made up of all the inhabitants of each village; and also that the households might be recorded once for all, within the village or district to which those of their relations belonged.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PRINCE, WHO WAS THE HEIR, WAS MARRIED TO HIS OWN SISTER, AND OF THE REASONS WHICH THEY GAVE FOR THIS CUSTOM.

Now that we have related the manner of marrying amongst the Indians generally, it will be well that we should describe the customs relating to the marriage of the prince who was heir to the kingdom. It must be known that the Kings Yncas, from the first, established it as a very stringent law and custom that the heir to the kingdom should marry his eldest sister, legitimate both on the side of the father and the mother, and she was his legitimate wife, and was called Ccoya, which is the same as queen or empress. The first-born of this brother and sister was the legitimate heir to the kingdom.

They kept this law and custom from the time of the first Ynca Manco Ccapac and his wife Mama Ocllo Huaco, who came saying that they were brother and sister, children of the Sun and Moon, and so all the Indians believed. They also had another ancient precedent to justify this first one, which was that, as has already been said, they believed, in the time of their heathenry, that the Moon was wife and sister of the Sun, from whom the Ynca was descended. Hence it was that, in order to imitate the Sun in all things, the first Yncas and their descendants established the law that the first born of the Ynca, following both these precedents, married his sister both on the father's and mother's side. In case of failure of such sister, they married the most nearly related cousin, or niece, or aunt in the royal family, and, on failure of male heirs, she might have inherited the kingdom, as in the laws of Spain.

If the prince had no children by his eldest sister, he married the second, and the third, until he had children, and the strictness of this law and custom is founded on the precedents already mentioned. They say that as the Sun was married to his sister, and had caused the same marriage to be celebrated between his children, it was right that the same custom should be preserved by the heirs of the kings. They also did it to ensure purity of the blood of the Sun; for they said that it was unlawful to mix human blood, calling all that was not of the Yncas, human. They also declared that the princes married their sisters, in order that they might inherit the kingdom as much through the mother as the father: for otherwise they affirmed that the prince might be bastardised through his mother. Such was the strict rule which they established respecting the right succession of the inheritance to the kingdom.

To these reasons they added others, and said that it could not be permitted that the majesty of being queen should be given to any woman who had not a legitimate right to it in

her own person, and not through union with the king; nor was it just that, not being capable of reigning in her own person, she should be revered and served by others who, under ordinary circumstances, would be her betters.

Besides the legitimate wife, these kings had many concubines, some of them being relations of and within the fourth degree, and others, no relations. The children of those who were relations were looked upon as legitimate, because they had no mixture of foreign blood, for the Yncas held this purity in high veneration, not only among the kings, but amongst all those of the royal blood. The children of strange girls were considered bastards, and although they were respected as being children of the king, they were not looked upon with that deep veneration which was received by those of pure blood; for the latter were adored as gods, while the former were only looked upon as men. Thus, the Kings Yncas had three kinds of children, those of their wives, who were legitimate heirs of the kingdom; those of relations who were legitimate by blood; and the illegitimate offspring of strange women.

CHAPTER X.

DIFFERENT CUSTOMS RELATING TO THE INHERITANCE OF ESTATES.

In the event of failure of sons by the legitimate wife, it was lawful for the eldest relation of pure blood to inherit (as Manco Ynca succeeded Huascar, as will be recorded in its place), and so on with the rest, but under no circumstances could a bastard be allowed to inherit, and when there was no legitimate son of pure blood, the succession went to the nearest legitimate male relation.

It was on account of this law that Atahualpe destroyed the

whole royal family, both men and women, as we shall relate in its place, because he was a bastard, and feared that the kingdom might be taken from him, and given to one who was legitimate. All those of the blood royal married with their relations to the fourth degree, for they had many legitimate children. But they reserved the daughter, whose marriage to a brother was only permitted in the case of the king. The eldest son always inherited the kingdom, and this mode of succession never failed in the twelve generations that reigned down to the time of the Spaniards. Amongst the Curacas, who were lords of vassals, there were various customs respecting the inheritance of estates. In some provinces the eldest son inherited, the succession going regularly from father to son. In others, the son inherited who was most popular with the vassals, on account of his virtue or affability, which was more like an election than an inheritance. This law was framed that none of the sons of a Curaca might be a tyrant or a profligate, but that all might strive to deserve the inheritance of the estate and lordships, as a reward of his goodness and valour, which might oblige the vassals to seek him for their lord by reason of his valour.

In other provinces the sons inherited according to their respective ages. When the father died, the eldest son succeeded, then the second, and so on; and when all the sons died, the succession went to the sons of the eldest, and afterwards to those of the others. Having heard of this mode of inheritance among some of the Curacas, a Spanish historian was deceived into saying that it was the usual custom throughout Peru, not only among the Curacas, but also with the kings; but, in truth, this custom was unknown amongst the Kings Yncas, but only amongst some Curacas, as we have said.

The three different customs, or laws, in use among the lords of vassals in the different provinces, respecting the in-

heritance of their estates, were not made by the Yncas; for their laws and ordinances were common throughout the whole kingdom. The Curacas observed those laws before the time of the Yncas: and although they were afterwards conquered, they were neither deprived of their estates, nor obliged to abandon the customs which they observed from ancient times, so long as they were not opposed to those of the Yncas. On the contrary, the Yncas confirmed many of them which appeared to be good, especially that by which the most virtuous and best beloved son inherited the estate; for this law appeared very desirable, and they therefore ordered it to be observed in the places where it had been established. One of the kings, indeed, wished to avail himself of this law of the Curacas, in opposing the harshness and evil condition of the prince his heir, as we shall see in its place. In a village, which is forty leagues to the eastward of Cuzco, called Surcunca, where I have been, the following circumstance occurred, with reference to the different modes of inheritance in that land. The Curaca of the village was named Don Garcia. When he was about to die, he called his four sons, and the chief men of the village, and said to them, by way of a last will, that they should keep the law of Jesus Christ which they had lately received, and always give thanks to God for having sent it them, and honour the Spaniards for having brought it. He especially enjoined them to serve their master, because it had fallen to his lot to be lord over them. Finally, he said: "It is well known to you, that, according to the law of our land, the most virtuous and popular of my sons should inherit, and I charge you to select the one who has those qualities; and if none possess them, I ordain that they be disinherited, and that you elect one of yourselves, so as to ensure your own honour, welfare, and profit; for I desire the common good of you all more than that of my sons." All this was related by the priest who had charge of the village as the notable act and testament of one of his flock.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WEANING, SHEARING, AND NAMING OF CHILDREN.

The Yncas were accustomed to have a great feast at the weaning of their first-borns, but not at that of their daughters or younger sons; at least the ceremonies on those occasions were not so solemn as when the eldest was weaned; for the dignity of primogeniture was much considered among the Yncas, and all the vassals imitated their example.

They weaned their children at the age of two years and upwards, and at the same time they shaved off their first crop of hair, and gave them the name which they were henceforth to bear. On this occasion all the relations assembled, and selected one from amongst them to be godfather to the child, who gave the first clip to his god-child's hair. For scissors they used blades of stone, for the Indians had not invented scissors. After the godfather came the other relations, according to their age or rank, to give their clip to the weaned child's hair; and when he was shorn, they gave him a name, and presented the gifts they had brought, some offering wearing apparel, others sheep, others arms, others drinking cups of gold or silver if the child was of the royal family, but none of the common people could use those metals, except by special privilege.

As soon as the presentation of gifts was over, the ceremony of drinking began, for without it no entertainment was considered good. They sang and danced until night, and this festivity continued for three or four days, or more, according to the will of the child's relations. Nearly the same was done when they weaned the heir to the throne, except that regal solemnity was observed, and that the godfather was the High Priest of the Sun. The Curacas of the

whole kingdom attended either personally or through their ambassadors, the festival continued for more than twenty days, and rich gifts of gold, silver, and precious stones were presented, as well as all that was most valuable in the different provinces.

In imitation of this feast, for all desired to take a pattern from their head, the Curacas did the same, and in like manner did all the people of Peru according to their means, for this was one of the chief festivals. For the satisfaction of those who are curious in the matter of language, we may mention that the general language of Peru has two names for a son. The father says *Churi* and the mother *Huahua*. (This word might be written without the *h, h,* with only the four vowels, each one being pronounced by itself in two diphthongs, but I have added the *h, h,* that two syllables may not be formed.) Both the words mean a child, including those of both sexes and numbers; and the rule is so strict that the parents cannot misuse the words without making a male female and a female male. To distinguish the sexes they add the words which signify male or female; and to say a child in the plural or singular, the father says *Churi*, and the mother *Ùaùa*. There are four different words to express brothers and sisters. The male to the male says *Huauque* for brother. The female to the female says *Naña* or sister. But if a brother should say *Naña* to his sister, although it signifies sister, he would be making a woman of himself. In like manner, if a sister should say *Huauque* to her brother, though it means brother, it would be to make herself a man. The brother says to his sister *Pana*, which also means sister, and the sister to her brother says *Tora* or brother. But a brother cannot say to his brother *Tora*, though the word signifies brother, for it would be to make a woman of him; nor can one sister call another *Pana*, though it means sister, for it would make a man of her. Thus there are words of the same meaning appropriated

some to the use of men, and others to that of women, without their being able to exchange them on pain of confusing the sexes. All which things ought to be attended to in teaching our holy religion to the Indians, so that they may not have occasion to laugh at our barbarisms. The Fathers of the Company are diligent in all things, and other religious men work hard at this language, in order to teach the heathens, as we said at the beginning.

CHAPTER XII.

THEIR CHILDREN WERE BROUGHT UP WITHOUT ANY CARE.

Their children were strangely brought up, both those of the Yncas and those of the people, whether rich or poor, without any distinction, and with as little care as could be bestowed upon them. As soon as a child was born, they bathed the little creature with cold water before wrapping it in a blanket; and each morning, before it was wrapped up, they washed it with cold water, generally in the open air. And when the mother would show unusual tenderness, she took the water in her mouth and washed the whole of the child's body with it, except the head, and particularly the crown of the head, which they never touched. They said that they did this to accustom the children to the cold and to hard work, and also to strengthen their limbs. They did not loosen the children's arms from the swaddling bands for more than three months, saying that if they were loosened before that time, the arms would become weak. They were always kept tied up in their cradles, which were benches badly made, four feet long, and one foot was shorter than the others, that the child might be able to * * * *. The seat or litter, on which they put the

child, was made of a thick net, as strong as a board, and the same net went round each side of the cradle, that the child might not fall out.

Neither in giving them milk, nor at any other time, did they ever take them in their arms, for they said that this would make them cry, and want always to be in their mothers' arms and never in their cradles. The mother leant over her child and gave it the breast, and this was done three times a day, in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. They did not give the child milk at any other time, even if it cried, for they said that if they did it would want to be sucking all day long, and become dirty with vomitings, and that when it was a man it would grow up a great eater and a glutton. The animals, they said, did not give milk to their young all day long, but only at certain hours. The mother herself brought up her child, and she was not allowed to give it out to nurse, how great lady soever she might be, unless she was suffering from illness; and while she was suckling the child she abstained from * * *, because they said it was bad for the milk, and made the child pine away. They called those who had thus pined away *ayusca*, which is the past participle, and means literally the incapable, or more properly the changeling. In the same way one lad said it to another, mocking him that his mistress had more favour for another than for him. But no one was allowed to say it to a married person, for it was a word *de las cinco*, and he who said it incurred great punishment. I knew a Palla of the blood royal who gave her child out to nurse from necessity; and the nurse was treacherous and gave it no nourishment, so that it pined away and had nothing left on it but skin and bones. The mother seeing that her child had become an *ayusca* (at the end of eight months after the milk had become dry), applied plasters of herbs to her back, which brought the milk back, and she began to nurse her child again, and so restored it

to health. She would not give it to another nurse, because she said that the mother's milk was what nourished it best.

If the mother had sufficient milk to nourish the child, she never gave it any other food until it was weaned, because they said it injured milk; and they kept the children dirty and untidy. When it was time to take the children out of the cradle, in order not to have to carry them, they made holes in the ground, and put the children into them up to their breasts, wrapping them in dirty napkins, and putting a few trifles before them to play with. There they put the child to jump and kick, but they never carried it in their arms, even if it was a son of the greatest Curaca in the kingdom.

When the child could crawl on all fours, it went to one side or the other of its mother to take the breast, and sucked with its knees on the ground, but it was not allowed to get on her lap. And when it wanted the other breast, it had to go round, that the mother might not be obliged to take it in her arms. The mother cared less about child-bearing than about nursing, for in giving birth she went to a stream, or washed with cold water in the house, and washed the house; beginning immediately afterwards to concern herself about her household affairs, as if nothing had happened. They gave birth without the aid of a midwife, and if such a person was ever used, she was more a sorceress than a midwife. This was the usual custom of the Indian women in Peru, in bearing and nursing their children, without distinction between rich and poor, high and low.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LIFE AND EMPLOYMENT OF THE MARRIED WOMEN.

The life of the married women was usually a continual round of household duties. They spun and wove cloths of wool in the cold country, and of cotton in the warmer regions. Each one worked for herself, and for her husband and family. They did not sew much, because the clothes worn both by men and women had few seams. All they wove was first twisted, both wool and cotton. All the cloths, as many as they wanted to make, were taken from four selvages; and they did not have the warp longer than was required for each mantle or shirt. The vestments were not cut out, but were entire, just as the cloth came from the frame; for before they began to weave, they settled the required length and breadth, more or less.

There were neither tailors, shoemakers, nor hosiers, among these Indians; for they had no need of the things used by us, and did without them. The women looked after the clothing belonging to the house, and the men took care of the shoes; for, as we explained, in the account of arming a knight, they had to know how to make sandals, and even the Yncas of the blood royal and the Curacas had servants who made sandals. Nor did they themselves disdain, now and then, to practise making them, as well as all kinds of arms required in their employment as knights; for they took much delight in observing their statutes. In the work of the field both men and women were engaged in helping one another.

In some provinces, at a great distance from Cuzco, which had not yet been well cared for by the Kings Yncas, the women went to work in the fields, and the men stayed at home

to spin and weave. But I speak of the nations that imitated the court, which included nearly the whole empire, and the others, being barbarous, merit only to be forgotten. The Indian women were so fond of work, and such enemies to wasting even the shortest space of time, that even in going from the villages to the city, or in passing from one house to another on necessary business, they took with them the means both of spinning and twisting. On the road they went along twisting what they had already spun, as being more easy; and on their visits, they took with them the distaff, and spun while they conversed. Those who went along the roads twisting or spinning belonged to the lower classes. The Pallas of the blood royal, when they paid visits, caused their servants to carry their distaffs; but both visitors and those who were visited, were thus occupied while they talked, so as not to be idle. They made the spindles of cane. The spindle had a knob at the end, and was not hollow. They made a knot of the thread they were spinning, and loosened the spindle, making the thread as long as possible; they then recovered it in the fingers of the left hand, to turn it on the spindle. They carried the distaff in the left hand, and not at the girdle, holding it with the two smaller fingers, and taking hold with both hands to thin off the thread, and get rid of anything sticking to it. They did not bring it to the mouth, because, in my time, they did not spin linen, as they had none, but only cotton and cloth. They spin slowly because of the complicated nature of the method I have described.*

* Rivero says that all the textures of wool woven by the ancient Peruvians, which he had examined, were as strong as they were beautiful in colour and design. The Peruvians had good permanent vegetable dyes of flesh colour, yellow, gray, blue, green, black, and red.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOW THE WOMEN VISITED EACH OTHER, HOW THEY MENDED THEIR CLOTHES, AND HOW THERE WERE PUBLIC WOMEN.

If any woman who was not a Palla, even though she might be the wife of a Curaca, or lord of vassals, went to pay a visit to a Palla of the blood royal, she did not bring any work of her own with her. But, after the first words of the visit, or rather adoration, for such it was, she begged to be given some work, saying that she had not come on a visit, but to serve as an inferior to a superior. The Palla, as a great favour, complied with this request, and gave some of the work that either she or one of her daughters was doing; for she did not degrade her to the level of the servant girls, by giving her some of their work. This favour was all that the visitor could wish for, seeing that the Palla thus made her in some sort on an equality with herself and her daughters. A like interchange of condescension and humility was shown in all intercourse between the men and women of that commonwealth, the inferiors studying how to serve and please the superiors, and the superiors how to show kindness to their inferiors, from the Ynca, who is king, to the poorest Llamanchec, who is shepherd.

The good custom amongst the Indian women of visiting each other, and bringing their work with them, was imitated by the Spanish ladies in Cuzco until the time of the rebellion of Francisco Hernandez Giron, which put an end to this virtuous habit, as such treasons usually do destroy good manners, with their cruel and tyrannical sway. I had nearly forgotten to say how the common people mended their clothes, which is remarkable. If the cloth belonging

to their dress, or to the furniture of their house, was torn, not through being worn out, but by an accident, either from a briar, or a spark from the fire, they took it, and with a needle made from a thorn (for they knew not how to make them of metal) and a thread of cotton of the same colour and size as the cloth, they began to weave. First they passed the thread of the warp along the places of the torn threads, and then that of the web, taking these fifteen or twenty times beyond the torn part on either side, where they cut it. They then went over the place again, crossing the thread, and always weaving the web with the warp, and the warp with the web. In this way the mended part looked as if it had never been torn. Even if the rent was as large as the palm of the hand, or larger, they mended it in the same way, the mouth of a pot or a calabash serving for a frame; so that the cloth might be tight and equal. It is true that the Spanish weaving is different from that of the Indians, but Spanish cloth would not suffer from this method of mending. It is also worthy of note that the hearths, in their houses, where they cooked their food, were ovens of clay, large or small, according to the condition of the master. The fire was applied to the mouth, and above they made a hole, or two or three, according to the number of the dishes to be cooked. This curious plan was adopted by these thrifty people, that they might not waste the heat, nor use more fuel than was necessary; and they wondered at the wasteful ways of the Spaniards.

It remains to speak of the public women, whom the Yncas permitted in order to avoid greater evils. They lived in the fields in certain poor huts, each one by herself, and not together. They were not allowed to enter the towns, that they might have no intercourse with other women. They were called *Pampay-runa*, a name which denotes their place of abode and their occupation; for it is composed of *Pampa*, meaning an open field or square (it has both

significations), and *Runa*, which in the singular means a person, man or woman, and in the plural denotes a number of people. The two words together, if the former is taken in its signification of a field, mean a people living in the open fields; and if the signification of a square is taken for *pampa*, the term *Pampay-runa* means a person or woman of the square, that is to say, that as all the square is public, and intended to receive whosoever may wish to go into it, so these women were public for all the world.

The men treated them with extreme contempt. Women could not speak to them, on pain of receiving the same name, being shorn in public, declared as infamous, and repudiated by their husbands if they were married. They were not called by their own names, but simply *Pampayruna*, which means a prostitute.

CHAPTER. XV.

THE SIXTH YNCA, NAMED YNCA ROCCA, CONQUERS MANY NATIONS, AND AMONG THEM THE CHANCAS AND HANCOHUALLU.

The King Ynca Rocca, whose name, as has already been quoted from the missionary Blas Valera, means a prudent prince of mature judgment, took the red fringe on the death of his father; and, having celebrated the funeral ceremonies, passed three years in visiting all parts of his dominions. Soon afterwards he ordered his warriors to be assembled, to continue the conquests in the direction of Chincha-suyu, which is to the northward of Cuzco. He caused a bridge to be made across the river Apurimac, which is on the high road from Cuzco to the City of the Kings; for it appeared to him to be beneath his dignity that, being now king, he should cross that river with his army in *balsas*, as he had done

when he was only prince. At that time the late Ynca had not ordered a bridge to be made, because the provinces in that direction were not then subjugated.

As soon as the bridge was made, the Ynca started from Cuzco with 20,000 men, and four masters of the camp. He ordered that the army should cross the bridge in squadrons three abreast, to commemorate its opening. He arrived at the valley of Amancay, which word signifies a lily, and the name was given because of the great number of those flowers that grow there. This flower is different from the lily of Spain both in form and smell, for the Amancay lily is in the shape of a bell, with a green bud, without any smell; and the Spaniards only called it a lily because it resembles one in its green and white colour. From Amancay the Ynca turned to the right of the road, towards the great snowy Cordillera. He met with few villages, and these he reduced to subjection. They call the inhabitants of this region Tacmana and Quiñualla. Thence he marched to Cocha-cassa, where he ordered large depôts of grain to be formed. His next march was to Curampa, and he easily extended his sway over these provinces, because they contained few inhabitants. From Curampa he advanced to the great province of Antahuaylla,* the confines of which extend along the royal road for a distance of sixteen or seventeen miles. The inhabitants are rich and very warlike. They were called Chancas, and boasted that they were descended from a lion, wherefore they adored the lion as a god, and, both before and after they were conquered by the Yncas, it was the custom among them, on days of festival, for two dozen Indians to come forth dressed in the way Hercules is painted, covered with lion skins, and their heads thrust into the skulls of lions. I have seen them so attired in the feast of the most holy sacrament at Cuzco.

* Now called Andahuaylas, a town and rich valley in the department of Ayacucho. *Anta* means copper, and *Huaylla* a meadow.

Under the general name of Chancas many other small tribes are included, as Hancohuallu,* Utunsulla,† Uramarca, Vilca,‡ and others; and all these boasted their descent from various fathers, some from a fountain, others from a lake, others from a very high hill; and each tribe looked upon the thing believed to be its progenitor as a god, and offered sacrifice to it. The ancestors of these tribes came from a great distance, and overran many provinces until they reached that where they now live, which is the province of Antahuaylla. They conquered it by force of arms, drove the former inhabitants out, and forced the Quechua Indians into a corner, taking many districts from them. They also obliged these Quechuas to pay tribute, treated them tyrannically, and did other famous things, of which their descendants still boast. The King Rocca Ynca was well informed of all these things, and when he reached the borders of the province of Antahuaylla, he sent the usual summons to the Chancas that they should submit to the Children of the Sun, or prepare to decide the question by force of arms. The tribes assembled to consider the reply that should be given to this message, and there were different opinions which divided the assembly into two parties. One side said that it was right that they should receive the Ynca as their lord, because he was a child of the Sun; while the other side (which was composed of the descendants of the lion) declared that it was not proper to recognise a foreign lord, they being lords of so many vassals and descendants of a lion. They said that they knew their own descent, but they were not going to believe that the Ynca was a child of the Sun; and

* Hancohualla appèars to have been close to Vilca.

† Correctly *Hatun-sulla*. *Hatun* is great. *Sulla* means dew. This district is in a wild part of the Cordillera, on the road from Guamanga to the coast.

‡ About twenty miles east of Guamanga. See an account of the great ruins at Vilca or Vilcas in my translation of Cieza de Leon, p. 312.

that it was more in accordance with their pedigree and with the deeds of the Chancas, their ancestors, to force other nations to submit to their sway, than to become subjects of the Ynca, before they had made trial of the strength of their arms. They, therefore, decided that it was better to resist the Ynca than basely to submit at the first summons, without having first displayed their banners and gone out armed into the field.

The Chancas occupied many days in this dispute, sometimes inclining to submit and at others resolved to resist, without being able to agree amongst themselves. Knowing this, the Ynca determined to invade their province, in order to intimidate them, that they might not resolve upon war when they saw his kindness and humanity; and that they might not, confiding in their many previous victories, presume to make any attack upon his person, which might oblige him to begin a rigorous war and to inflict severe punishment. He ordered his masters of the camp to enter the province of Antahuaylla, and at the same time he sent a messenger to the Chancas, to tell them that they must either acknowledge him as their lord or prepare their necks, for that he would put them all to death, being unable longer to suffer the display of rebellious feeling they had hitherto shown. The Chancas, seeing the determination of the Ynca, and knowing that many Quechuas and Indians of other tribes were in his army, whom they had given offence to in former times, abated their pride and submitted to the yoke of the Ynca, more through fear of his arms and of the vengeance of their enemies than for love of his laws and government. So they sent to say that they would meekly obey him as lord, and submit to his laws and ordinances. But they did not lose the rancour of their hearts, as we shall presently see.

The Ynca, having established the necessary officials in Antahuaylla, proceeded in his conquests to another province called Uramarca, the inhabitants of which are also of the

Chanca nation. This province is small in extent, although it is well peopled by a brave and warlike race, and it was not reduced without some resistance. If their power and numbers had equalled their warlike and gallant spirit, they would have made a desperate defence; for in this direction the people did not show themselves to be so mild and friendly towards the Yncas as those of Cuntisuyu and Collasuyu. But at last, though not without signs of unwillingness, the people of Uramarca submitted. Thence the Ynca marched to the province of a people called Hancohuallu and Villca (called by the Spaniards Vilcas) who yielded to his sway with similar unwillingness; for these people, also belonging to the Chanca nation, were lords of other provinces that they had subjugated by force of arms, and from day to day they extended their power with much ambition, treating their newly conquered vassals with scorn and tyranny. The King Ynca Rocca put a stop to all this when he had reduced them to submission, so that they were much disheartened and their subjugation rankled in their hearts. They sacrificed children to their gods on days of festival in both these provinces. When the Ynca learned this he addressed them in a discourse, intended to persuade them to desist from this cruel practice, and to worship the Sun; and to prevent the perpetration of such acts in future he ordained a law, and promulgated it from his own mouth that it might be the more respected, to the effect that if another child was put to death the whole tribe should be exterminated, and their country peopled by other nations who would love and not kill their children. The people felt this very deeply, for they were persuaded by the devils, who were their gods, that these were the sacrifices most agreeable to them.

From Villca the Ynca turned aside to the left of the road, in the direction of the sea coast, and reached one of two very large provinces, which are both called Sullu; though, for the sake of distinction, they call one of them Utunsullu. These

provinces include many tribes with different names, some with a large number of men, others with few, which, to avoid prolixity, I shall not enumerate. The whole number of inhabitants exceeded forty thousand. The Ynca spent many months among them (the natives even relate that he remained there for three years), not desiring to force them to obedience by the use of arms, but by kindness and benefits. But these Indians, being so numerous and some of them rude and warlike, were often on the point of breaking out into war; though at last the good management and kindness of the Ynca prevailed to such an extent that, at the end of that long time, they eventually received his laws, and the officers that were appointed by the Ynca to rule them. After this success he returned to Cuzco. In the two last provinces reduced by the Ynca, called Sullu and Utunsullu, some mines of gold and quicksilver were discovered about thirty-two years ago, which are very rich, and the latter are of great importance in the preparation of silver.*

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE PRINCE YAHUAR-HUACCAC, AND THE MEANING OF HIS NAME.

After some years passed in peace and quiet throughout his dominions, the Ynca determined to send the prince and heir, who was his son Yahuar-Huaccac, to conquer Antisuyu, which is to the eastward of Cuzco, and not distant from that city. In that direction the Yncas had not hitherto extended their empire beyond the limit reached by the first Ynca, Manco Ccapac, on the banks of the river Paucar-tampu.

Before proceeding with the history, it will be well to ex-

* According to this, the provinces of Sullu must have included Huancavelica, where the quicksilver mine was discovered.

plain the meaning of the name Yahuar huaccac, and to state why it was given to that prince. The Indians relate that, when he was a child of three or four years of age, he wept blood. They do not know whether this only happened once or several times, but he probably had some disease in his eyes which brought blood into them. Others declare that he was born weeping blood, and these are more positive about it than the others; it may have been that some drops of blood from the mother got into the child's eyes, and these people, being so very superstitious, may have declared that they were the tears of the child. However this may be, they declare that he wept blood; and, being so given to a belief in omens, they thought much of this unhappy omen in the life of the prince, and feared some great misfortune for him, or some curse from his father the Sun, as they said. This is the origin of the name Yahuar-huaccac, which means "he who weeps blood," and not "tears of blood," as some interpret it. And this weeping took place when he was a child, and not after he was grown up and had been conquered and taken prisoner, as some declare. For no such thing ever happened to any Ynca until the time of the unfortunate Huascar, who was seized by the traitor Atahualpha, his bastard brother, as we shall relate in its proper place, if the most high God spares us to get so far. Nor is it true that they stole him when he was a child, as another historian asserts, for such a proceeding would be very much opposed to the veneration in which all the Indians held their Yncas; and the servants deputed to watch over the prince would never have been so careless as to allow him to be stolen, nor would any Indian have been so audacious as to make the attempt. For all the people knew that if any man even imagined such a thing, without attempting to put it into execution, he would have been buried alive with all his relations and all the inhabitants of his village and province. We have explained, on several occasions, that the

people adored their kings as gods, children of their god the Sun, and held them in the greatest veneration, a veneration which exceeded that which any other heathen nation felt for its gods.

With reference to this omen of the tears of blood, I remember another superstition by which the Indians judged of omens, from the winking of the upper and lower eyelids. The relation of this superstition relating to the eyes, will not, therefore, be inappropriate. The Yncas and all their vassals believed that it was a good or evil omen, according as a person winked with the upper or lower eyelid; it was a good sign if a man winked with the upper-eyelid of his left eye, and they said that he would see pleasant and joyful things; but it was still better if he winked the upper eyelid of his right eye, for then he would see extremely happy and delightful sights. On the other hand, the winking of the lower eyelids betokened misfortune: the right lower eyelid was a sign of mourning and woe, and the left one betokened the extreme of misery. They believed so firmly in these auguries, that if the latter accident occurred they began to weep as mournfully as if all the woes they feared had really happened. And, in order to avert these imagined evils, they resorted to a superstition which was as ridiculous as that of the evil omen. They took a piece of straw, moistened it with saliva, and applied it to the lower eyelid, with the idea that, by preventing the tears from being shed, it would make the evil omen of the winking lower eyelid pass away. They had almost the same superstition respecting sounds in the ears, the particulars of which I omit, that concerning the eyes being more to the point; but both are really believed in, for I was myself a witness to them.

The King Ynca Rocca (as we have said) determined to send his son to conquer Antisuyu, and for this purpose he ordered fifteen thousand warriors to assemble, under three Masters of the camp, who were appointed to accompany him

as councillors. He was dispatched with complete instructions as to what he was to do. The prince advanced prosperously to the river Paucar-tamho and marched on to Challa-pampa,* reducing the few Indians inhabiting those parts to subjection. Thence he went on to Pillcu-pata, where he ordered four villages to be formed by the strangers in his army; from Pillcu-pata he marched to Havisca and Tunu,† which were the first farms of *coca* possessed by the Yncas. This *coca* is the herb so highly esteemed by the Indians. The inheritance called Havisca afterwards belonged to my lord Garcilasso de la Vega, who granted it to me during his life, and I lost it through my leaving the country and going to Spain. To enter these valleys where they cultivate the *coca*, a mountain is crossed called Canac-huay, by an almost perpendicular descent five leagues long;‡ and it causes terror even to look at it, how much more to ascend and descend it, for along the whole length the road goes up in the shape of a serpent, turning first to one side and then to the other.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE IDOLS OF THE INDIANS CALLED ANTIS, AND THE CONQUEST OF THE CHANCAS.

In these provinces of the Antis they usually worshipped the tigers as gods, and also the great serpents that they called *Amaru;* these serpents are much larger round than the girth of a man's thigh, and twenty-five or thirty feet long,

* A pleasant village on the left bank of the Paucar-tampu river.

† Havisca was the first coca plantation in the *montañas* or forests at the eastern base of the Cordilleras. Tunu or Tono is the river which drains the *montaña* of Paucartambo, and has now been ascertained to be a tributary of the Beni.

‡ I rode down this descent in three hours, in May 1853. It is not more than eight miles long. The scenery is magnificent.

others being smaller. The Indians worshipped them by reason of their greatness and monstrosity; they are harmless, and they say that a magician bewitched them so that they could do no harm, but that before they were exceedingly ferocious. They worshipped the tiger by reason of its ferocity and courage; and they said that the serpents and tigers were the original possessors of the land, and that they had a right to adoration as its lords, while the Indians themselves were strangers.* They also adored the herb called *cuca*, or *coca* as the Spaniards spell it. In this expedition the prince Yahuar-huaccac increased the boundaries of the empire by nearly thirty leagues of land, though the new territory was thinly populated; he did not advance any further, owing to the difficulty of passing the forests, swamps, and morasses in that region. The province is called Anti, and hence all the territory on that side is known as Antisuyu.

Having completed the conquest, the prince returned to Cuzco. The king his father then desisted from further conquests, for in Antisuyu, to the eastward, there was nothing left to conquer; and to the westward, which is called Cuntisuya, there was also no province unsubdued; the empire extending in that direction as far as the sea coast. Thus, from east to west, on the parallel of Cuzco, the width of the empire was more than one hundred leagues, and from north to south the length was two hundred leagues. Over all this extent of country the Indians had been taught to make royal edifices, gardens, and baths for the Ynca; as well as depôts on the royal roads, where they stored the supplies, arms, and clothes for the common people.

After some years, during which the King Ynca Rocca had remained at peace, he resolved to undertake a grand expedition with the object of completing the conquest of the provinces called Chancas, which his father, the Ynca Ccapac

* For an account of the idolatry of the Antis, as described by Father Blas Valera, see page 51.

Yupanqui, had commenced in the region of Collasuyu. He ordered thirty thousand warriors to be assembled, a larger army than had ever been brought together by any of his ancestors; he appointed six masters of the camp, besides captains and officers of lower grades, and directed the prince Yahuar-huaccac to remain in charge of the government, with four other Yncas as his councillors.

The Ynca left Cuzco by the road to Collasuyu, and the men of war continued to join his army along the line of march, until he arrived on the confines of the provinces Chuncuri, Pucuna, and Muyumuyu, which were nearest to his dominions. He sent a messenger with the usual summons, demanding that the inhabitants should live under the laws of his father the Sun, and acknowledge him as their god, abandoning their idols made of wood and stone and their many evil customs which they practised, contrary to natural and human laws. The natives were enraged, and their warlike young captains took up arms with much fury, saying that it was a strange thing to command them to abandon their gods and accept a strange god, and to repudiate their laws and customs and adopt those of the Ynca, who took away land from his vassals and imposed taxes and tributes until his subjects became slaves. They declared that they would in no wise submit to this, but would rather die fighting for their gods, their country, and their liberty.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REASONING OF THE OLDER MEN, AND HOW THEY RECEIVED THE YNCA.

The older and more prudent men said that they ought to consider what they had learnt from their neighbours who were vassals of the Ynca; namely, that their laws were good and their government was mild; that they treated their vassals as their own children, and not as conquered people; that the lands they took were not what the inhabitants required, but what was superfluous and could not be worked by them, and that the harvest of the lands which were tilled at his own cost was the tribute, and not the property of the Indians. Besides, the Ynca gave back all that was in excess of the requirements of his court and army; and in proof of what they said it was only necessary to look dispassionately at the improved condition of the Ynca's vassals, who were more prosperous, richer, and more contented than they ever had been before. It would be seen that the dissensions which, in former times, prevailed amongst themselves for the most trifling causes, had now ceased, that their property was protected from robbers, their wives and daughters were safe, and neither rich nor poor, great nor small, received any injury.

They added that it should be known how many neighbouring provinces, on hearing of these blessings, had willingly submitted to the government of the Ynca, in order to enjoy them; and that it would be well if they did the same, for it was safer to appease the Ynca by submitting to his demands than to provoke his rage and anger by refusing to obey, if afterwards they were obliged to yield by force of arms and thus lose the Ynca's favour. Far better would it

be to obtain his grace at once, for this would be the safest way of placing their lives and goods in security. As for their gods, the Ynca had declared that the Sun deserved to be worshipped more than idols. Finally, if they would receive the King Ynca as their lord, and the Sun as their god, they would acquire honour and profit. The elders appeased the young men by these arguments, and with one consent both old and young went out to receive the Ynca; the youths with their arms, and the old men with such gifts as their country could furnish, saying that they brought the fruits of their land in token that they delivered it up to the Ynca. The youths, on the other hand, said that they brought their arms to serve in their prince's army as loyal vassals, and to assist in conquering other new provinces.

The Ynca received them with much kindness, ordering the elders to be given new clothes, and, as a greater favour, the principal chiefs were presented with dresses from the royal wardrobe. From amongst the young warriors, as a reward for their good will, he ordered five hundred to be chosen to serve in his army, not selecting them by favour but by lot, in order that those who were left out might not be annoyed. He said that they were not all taken, because their land must not be left without inhabitants. The Indians, both old and young, were so well satisfied with their treatment, that they began to raise great acclamations, crying out, "Thou art good, O child of the Sun! thou alone deservest to be king. With good reason art thou called a lover of the poor, for scarcely had we become thy vassals before we were covered with favours. Blessed be the Sun, thy father! and may the people of the four quarters of the globe obey and serve thee, for thou art well named Sapa Ynca, or Sole Lord." With such blessings was the King Ynca Rocca invoked by his new vassals. Having appointed the necessary new officers, he marched onwards to reduce the neighbouring provinces of Misqui, Sacaca, Machaca, Caracara, and others

as far as Chuquisaca, which is the place now called the city of La Plata;* they are all within the limits of Charcas, though they are inhabited by various nations speaking different languages. The King Ynca Rocca reduced them all to obedience with as much ease as he had overcome the first he encountered. In this campaign he extended the limits of his empire for more than fifty leagues to the south, and as many from east to west; he returned to Cuzco, after appointing the necessary officers to instruct the people and collect the revenue, according to ancient custom; the soldiers were then dismissed to their respective provinces, and the captains received gifts and favours.

After this campaign the Ynca rested from his conquests, and attended to the government of his empire, passing the remaining years of his life in this employment, but we do not know how many they were. When he died he had not degenerated in any respect from the virtues of his ancestors, but had imitated them as closely as it was possible, both in extending his conquests and in doing good to his vassals. He founded schools where the Amautas were appointed to teach such knowledge as they had attained to; and built his own royal palace near them, as we shall see in its proper place.† He also instituted laws and uttered several notable sayings. The father Blas Valera wrote several of these in his papers, and presently I will repeat the sayings which his paternity

* This city was selected as the capital of the republic of Bolivia, and received the name of Sucrè, in honour of one of Bolivar's ablest generals, who was the first president.

† The remains of the palace of Ynca Rocca are situated in the present Calle del Triunfo, near the great square of Cuzco. The walls are constructed of huge masses of rock, of various shapes and sizes, one of them actually having twelve sides, but fitting into each other with astonishing exactness, though their exterior faces are rough. The stone is a very dark-coloured limestone. The walls of the *Yacha-huasi*, or schools founded by this Ynca, are still standing, and form part of the church of San Lazaro. Many serpents are carved in relief on the stones.

recorded, and which are well worthy of remembrance. This Ynca was universally lamented, and his body was embalmed, according to the custom of these kings. He left his son Yahuar-huaccac as his heir, being born of his legitimate wife and sister Mama Micay; he also left many other children, both legitimate and illegitimate.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONCERNING SOME LAWS INSTITUTED BY THE KING YNCA ROCCA, OF THE SCHOOLS HE FOUNDED IN CUZCO, AND SOME SAYINGS WHICH HE UTTERED.

The Father Blas Valera, who made great researches into the history of the Yncas, gives the following particulars respecting this King. He reigned for more than fifty years, and established many laws, amongst which the most noteworthy were as follows:—He ordered that the children of the common people should not learn the sciences, which should be known only by the nobles, lest the lower classes should become proud and endanger the commonwealth. The common people were ordered to be taught the employments of their fathers, which was enough for them. All thieves, murderers, adulterers, and incendiaries were to be put to death without mercy. Children were to serve their parents until the age of twenty-five, after which time they were to be employed in the service of the state. Blas Valera also says that the Ynca Rocca was the first who established schools in the city of Cuzco, in which the Amautas imparted their learning to the Ynca princes of the blood royal, and to the nobles of the empire. The schools were not established for teaching letters, for these people had none; but to instruct the pupils concerning the rights, precepts, and ceremonies of their false religion, and the

principles of their laws and customs, with their correct interpretation. It was intended that they should thus attain a knowledge of the art of governing, and become both more refined and more assiduous in the military art. The pupils were also taught the method of computing time, and of recording events, by means of knots, as well as to converse with elegance and grace, and how to bring up their children and govern their households. They were then instructed in the arts of poetry, music, philosophy, and astrology, or at least as much as had been attained to in those sciences by the Amautas, who were their philosophers or wise men, and were held in great veneration. Father Blas Valera says that this Prince Ynca Rocca instituted all these things by a law, and that afterwards the Ynca Pachacutec, his great grandson, explained them more at large, and added many other laws. It is also said of this Ynca Rocca that, after reflecting on the grandeur, splendour, and beauty of the heavens, he often exclaimed that it might be concluded that the Pachacamac (that is God) was a most powerful king in the heavens, as he possessed so beautiful a habitation. It was also a saying of Ynca Rocca that, if he had to worship anything on this lower earth, it would certainly be a discreet and learned man, for that such an one had an advantage over all created things. But, added he, the man who is born and brought up, dies at last; he who yesterday had a beginning, to-day meets his end; and he who cannot free himself from death ought not to be worshipped. Thus far I have quoted from the father Blas Valera.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE YNCA "WEEPING BLOOD," SEVENTH KING, HIS FEARS AND CONQUESTS, AND OF THE DISGRACE OF THE PRINCE.

On the death of the King Ynca Rocca his son Yahuarhuaccac assumed the crown of the kingdom, and ruled with justice, piety, and gentleness, doing all the good in his power to his vassals. He wished to maintain them in the prosperous state in which they had been left by his ancestors, without pretending to make conquests or take any thing from any one. For, owing to the evil omen of his name, and of the prognostics that were made over him every day, he was fearful of some mischance and had no wish to tempt fortune. He hoped that if he did nothing to excite the anger of his father the Sun, he would not be visited with any heavy chastisement, as the soothsayers threatened. In this fear he lived for some years, only desiring peace and quiet for himself and his neighbours; but, to avoid idleness, he visited all parts of his dominions three times. He took measures to adorn the provinces with magnificent edifices, gave presents to his vassals, and treated them with greater kindness than had been the custom with any of his ancestors. All this was a sign and effect of fear, and in this way he passed nine or ten years. But, in order not to appear so pusillanimous as to be held up as a coward among the Yncas, in that he had not increased the limits of the empire, he resolved to send an army of twenty thousand warriors to the south-west of Cuzco, along the coast beyond Arequipa, where his predecessors had refrained from annexing a large extent of country because it was thinly inhabited. He selected his brother Ynca Mayta as captain-general, who, ever after that campaign,

was called Apu Mayta, that is to say, the captain-general, Mayta, because he was the general in command. Four experienced Yncas were nominated as masters of the camp; the Ynca did not venture to lead the invasion in person, though he desired much to do so; but he could not make up his mind to go, because the evil auguries (in the affairs of war) were amidst such doubtful and tempestuous waves, that where those of desire rose those of fear sank down. In consequence of these apprehensions he named his brother and his ministers to act in his place. These officers completed the conquest with such success and despatch that the whole country from Arequipa to Atacama was added to the empire of the Yncas; this is the extreme point of the province called Colla-suyu, and it is also the limit, along the sea coast, of what is now called Peru. This land on the coast is long and narrow, and thinly inhabited; so that the Yncas took more time in marching along it than in bringing it under their sway.

After the completion of this conquest they returned to Cuzco, and gave an account of what they had done to the Ynca Yahuar-huaccac. The success of this campaign inspired the Ynca with fresh vigour, and he resolved to undertake another more honourable and famous expedition for the reduction of some other great provinces in the Colla-suyu, called Caranca, Ullaca, Llipi, Chicha, and Ampara. These provinces, besides being large, were thickly inhabited by a valiant and warlike race. The former Yncas had not therefore attempted their conquest by force of arms, but had endeavoured to civilize them little by little, and accustom them to the rule of the Yncas by the sight of the neighbouring districts, where the vassals had obtained so many benefits, under the mild and just government of the children of the Sun.

The Ynca Yahuar-huaccac conducted this campaign with much hesitation, being divided between hope and fear, at

one time counting upon the same success as had attended the campaign of his brother Apu Mayta, and at another in a state of despondency, owing to some bad omen. Thus he would not undertake any operation of war by reason of the danger that might attend it. While he was proceeding on his expedition, in the midst of these doubts and misgivings, he turned his attention to other domestic cares that arose within his own household. These were caused by the character of his eldest son and heir, who was to succeed to the crown. This prince had shown a bad disposition from a child, for he had ill-treated the boys of his own age who attended upon him, and displayed a tendency to become harsh and cruel. Although the Ynca was careful to correct his son, and hoped that in time he would become more judicious, and lose the bad points of his character; yet these anticipations were not realised, for the prince's fierce disposition increased with his years. This was a source of extreme anxiety to the Ynca his father, for as all his ancestors had been remarkable for their gentleness and urbanity, it was very grievous to see the prince growing up with a disposition so opposite. The Ynca endeavoured to convert his son by persuasion, and by reminding him of the examples of his ancestors, as well as by upbraiding and punishing him; but all was of little or no avail, for an evil disposition in the great and powerful seldom or ever admits of correction.

Thus it fell out with this prince that every remedy applied to his evil disposition was converted into some poison. At last the Ynca, his father, determined to disgrace him, and banish him from the royal presence, and if this punishment did not cure him, to disinherit him and select one of his other sons as his heir. He intended, in this, to imitate a custom which prevailed in some of the provinces, of selecting the most worthy among the sons as the heir. The Ynca resolved to establish this law with his son, which had not hitherto been adopted by the Kings' Yncas. The prince

being then about nineteen years of age, was therefore ordered to be banished from the royal court, and to be taken to a grand and beautiful wilderness, a little more than a league to the eastward of the city, called Chita,* where I have often been. There were large flocks belonging to the Sun on those plains, and the prince was ordered to live with the shepherds who had charge of them. The prince, having no means of avoiding it, submitted to this banishment, and to the punishment with which he was visited for his headstrong and quarrelsome temper. He freely entered upon the duties of a shepherd, with the other shepherds, and took care of the flocks of the Sun; the fact that they belonged to the Sun being some consolation to the sorrowful Ynca. He performed these duties for three years or more, where we will leave him until his time comes, for he will give us notable things to say if we succeed in narrating them well.

CHAPTER XXI.

CONCERNING A NOTICE GIVEN TO THE PRINCE BY AN APPARITION, WHICH HE WAS TO DELIVER TO HIS FATHER.

The Ynca Yahuar-huaccac having banished his eldest son (whose name while he was prince is not known, because it was entirely superseded by the one which he afterwards bore; for, as they had no letters, these people totally forgot all that was not preserved in their memories by tradition) altogether desisted from wars and the conquest of new provinces, devoting himself exclusively to the peaceful govern-

* The lofty plateau of Chita, to the eastward of Cuzco, divides the valley of the Vilcamayu from that of its tributary the Huatanay, on which Cuzco is built. It is a treeless waste, covered with grass, and huge boulders of rock are scattered over its surface.

ment of his kingdom. He also desired not to lose sight of his son entirely by going far away from him, but to be near him, and watch his conduct; for all the remedies for this evil, such as perpetual imprisonment or disinherison, and the election of another in the prince's place, appeared to be violent and unsafe, owing to their novelty, and to the importance of the case; for it would be equivalent to depriving the Yncas of their deified position as the divine children of the Sun; and the vassals would not consent to the infliction of such a punishment, nor of any other that it might be desired to visit the prince with.

These cares and anxieties deprived the Ynca of all rest for more than three years, during which time nothing occurred worthy of record. In this interval he twice sent four of his relations to visit his empire, directing each to visit certain provinces, and to construct such works as were necessary for his honour and the good of his vassals, such as new aqueducts, depôts, royal houses, bridges, paved roads, fountains, and the like. But he did not leave the court, where he was engaged in celebrating the festivals of the Sun, and others, and in administering justice to his vassals. One day, at the end of this long period, a little after noon, the prince entered the house of his father, where he was little expected, alone and unattended, as a man out of favour with his King. He sent to the Ynca to say that he was there, and that he was bound to deliver a certain message. The Ynca replied, in great wrath, that the prince was to return at once to the place where he had been ordered to reside, unless he desired to be punished with death for disobeying a royal command, for he must know that it was unlawful for any one to disobey an order of the Ynca, how trivial soever its nature might be. The prince answered that he had not come there to break his father's commandment, but to obey another Ynca as great as he, who had sent him to say things which it was very important the Ynca should know: that if

the Ynca wished to hear them he should give permission for him to enter and say what was necessary, and if not he would return to him who had sent him, and give an account of the reply he had received.

The Ynca, on hearing the assertion that there was another lord as great as himself, gave orders for his son to enter, that he might learn what nonsense this was, and who had sent his banished and disgraced son with these new messages, that he might be punished. The prince, as soon as he had been brought before his father, said: "You must know, O sole Lord, that, when I was lying down at noon today (I cannot say whether I was asleep or awake) under one of the great rocks that are scattered over the pastures of Chita, where I am employed by your order in watching the flocks of our Father the Sun, a strange man stood before me, different in dress and appearance from our people. He had a beard on his face more than a hand's breadth long; he wore a long loose robe down to his feet, and held an animal, unknown to me, fastened by its neck. He said to me: 'Nephew, I am a child of the Sun, and brother of the Ynca Manco Ccapac and of the Coya Mamá Ocllo Huaco his wife and sister, the first of your ancestors; wherefore I am a brother of your father and of you all. I am called Uira-ccocha Ynca,* I come on the part of the Sun our father to make an announcement to you, that you may deliver it to the Ynca my brother. The whole of that part of the provinces of Chincha-suyu, which is subject to his empire, as well as other parts still unconquered, are in rebellion, and a great multitude has assembled to drive him

* Or Viracocha, according to the corrupt Spanish way of spelling, which, in this instance, is adopted by the Ynca. *Uira* means grease. Mossi spells it *Huira*. *Ccocha* is a lake or the sea. But our author, in the twenty-first chapter of the next book, denies that the name is composed of these two words, which would simply mean "a lake of grease." He declares that it is not composed of any two Quichua words, but that it is a name of itself, the derivation of which is unknown.

from his throne, and destroy our imperial city of Cuzco. Go, therefore, to the Ynca my brother, and tell him from me to prepare himself, and to take such order as may be necessary to avert this danger. And to you, in particular, I say that in whatever disaster you may find yourself, fear not, for I will not fail you, but will always give you help, as to my own flesh and blood. Therefore, do not hesitate to undertake any adventure, how great soever it may be, if it conduces to the glory of your empire, for I will always be at your side to give you such aid as you may require.' Having said these words," continued the prince, "the Ynca Huira-ccocha disappeared, and I saw him no more. Then I set out to deliver his message to you."

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CONSULTATIONS OF THE YNCA, TOUCHING THE STORY OF THE APPARITION.

The Ynca Yahuar-huaccac, being enraged against his son, would not believe his story, but said that he was an insolent madman for asserting that his own nonsense was a revelation from his father the Sun; and ordered him to return to Chita at once, and not again to leave it, on pain of the royal displeasure. So the prince returned to tend his sheep; but the brothers and uncles of the Ynca, who were near his person, being superstitious, and believers in omens, and especially in dreams, received what the prince had said in another spirit. They said to the Ynca that he should not despise the message from the Ynca Huira-ccocha his brother, seeing that he had said he was a child of the Sun, and that he came on the part of his father. Nor could it be believed that the prince would invent such things concerning the Sun, for it would be sacrilege to imagine it, much more

to say it before his father the Ynca. They urged that it would be well that the words of the prince should be examined one by one, that sacrifices to the Sun should be made, and auguries taken to see whether what they prognosticated was good or evil, and that the necessary arrangements should be made at once for so important a business; for, they said, to leave them unexamined would not only be hurtful, but would also show disrespect to the Sun, their common father, who had sent the message, and to the Ynca Huira-ccocha, his son, who had brought it. Such a course would be to heap error upon error.

The Ynca, influenced by the anger caused by his son's misconduct, was disinclined to take the advice of his relations, but said that no notice should be taken of the speech of a furious madman, and that, instead of mending his ways and correcting his evil disposition, so as to deserve the favour of his father, he would be emboldened to come with fresh nonsense, and would thus merit the deprivation of his inheritance, and the substitution of one of his brothers. A new heir would imitate the example of his ancestors who, for their clemency, piety, and gentleness, had acquired the title of children of the Sun. It was unreasonable, continued the Ynca, that a madman, with the knife of cruelty, should destroy all that the former Yncas had done to establish the empire by their goodness. The Yncas should reflect that a remedy for such evils was of more consequence than the wild words of a furious madman. The words themselves showed whence they came, and if the prince did not admit that the embassy was not from a child of the Sun, his head should be cut off for having broken out of the place of banishment that had been assigned to him. Finally the Ynca ordered them not to proceed in this affair, but to preserve silence respecting it; for that any remembrance of the prince caused him to become enraged, as he had resolved what he would do concerning him.

By order of the King, the Yncas were silent, and spoke no more on the subject; but they did not cease to entertain fears of some misfortune in their minds; for these Indians, as all others in heathendom, were very superstitious, and especially so in the matter of dreams, more particularly when such dreams were related by the king, the prince, or the high priest. Those three personages were looked upon as gods and great oracles, and the soothsayers sought an account of their dreams from them, in order to divine and interpret, if the Yncas themselves did not relate what they had dreamt.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REBELLION OF THE CHANCAS, AND TOUCHING THEIR FORMER DEEDS.

Three months after the dream of the Prince Uira-ccocha Ynca (for so he was called by his people from that time forward, because of the apparition he had seen), an uncertain rumour came concerning the rebellion of the provinces of Chincha-suyu, from Antahualla onwards, which was forty leagues to the northward of Cuzco. The news came in a confused way, as is usually the case on similar occasions; so that, although the Prince Uira-ccocha had dreamt it, and thus confirmed the news in his sleep, the Ynca took no notice of it, because the rumour appeared to him to be no more than roadside gossip, or some version of the dream which should have been forgotten. But a few days afterwards the same news again reached him, though still doubtful and uncertain. For the enemy had closed the roads with great care, that their rebellion might not be known, and that they might be in sight of Cuzco before their approach was known. The third notice of the rebellion that

arrived was more explicit, and it announced that the nations called Chanca, Uramarca, Villca, Utusullu, Hancohuallu, and others, had rebelled, slain the royal governors and ministers, and were marching to the capital with an army of more than 40,000 warriors.

These nations were reduced to obedience by the King Ynca Rocca, but more through terror of his arms than love of his government; and, as we before said, they remained with a feeling of rancour and hatred against the Yncas, which would break out when occasion should arise. Seeing that the Ynca Yahuar-huaccac was not warlike, and that he was intimidated by the evil augury of his name, and embarrassed by the bad disposition of his son the Prince Ynca-Huira-ccocha, and having heard something of the new cause of anger that the Ynca had against his son; it seemed a sufficiently favourable time to show the hatred they felt for the government of the Ynca. So they met together as secretly as possible, and raised amongst themselves a powerful army of more than 30,000 men of war, with which they marched in the direction of the imperial city of Cuzco. The authors of this rebellion, who incited the other lords of vassals, were three principal Indian Curacas of three great provinces of the Chanca nation (under which name other nations are included). One of these was named Hancohuallu,* a youth aged twenty-six, another was named Tumay Huaraca,† and the third Astu Huaraca.‡ The two last were brothers, and relations of Hancohuallu. The ancestors of these three petty kings waged perpetual war, before the time of the Yncas, with the neighbouring nations, especially with a people called Quechua, under which name are included the inhabitants of five

* The meaning of this name is not clear. *Hanco* or *Hanccu* is anything unripe or raw. *Hualluni* is a verb meaning to cut off the ears.

† *Tumay huaraca* means "He who whirls a sling round."

‡ Possibly *Astay-huaraca*, which would mean "He who carries a sling."

large provinces. They had brought these Quechuas under subjection, and treated them very tyrannically. The Quechuas, therefore, had rejoiced to become vassals of the Yncas, and had submitted very readily, as we have already seen, for they were glad to be released from the insolence of the Chancas. But the Chancas felt their subjection very deeply, and were indignant that, from being lords over others, they should themselves be made tributary. So they preserved the hatred they had inherited from their fathers, and rose in rebellion, expecting that they would easily conquer the Ynca by reason of the rapidity with which they intended to move, and of the want of preparation on his part. They calculated that a single victory would make them lords not only over their ancient enemies, but over the whole empire of the Yncas.

With this hope they called their people together, as well those subject to the Ynca as those who were independent, and promised them a large share of the conquest. It was not difficult to persuade them, as well by reason of the great prize that was offered, as because there was an ancient opinion that the Chancas were brave warriors. They elected Hanco-huallu, who was a valiant Indian, as their captain-general, his two brothers as masters of the camp, and the other Curacas were chiefs and captains of their followers. Thus, with all diligence, they began their march to Cuzco.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE YNCA FLIES FROM THE CAPITAL, WHICH IS SAVED BY THE PRINCE.

The Ynca Yahuar-huaccac was confused at the certainty of the news that the enemy was approaching; for he had never believed that this could be possible, judging from his former experience. No province, out of the great number that had been conquered, had ever before rebelled, from the time of the first Ynca Manco Ccapac. Yahuar-huaccac had refused to believe the reports, because nothing of the sort had ever happened before, and also because he was influenced by anger caused by the Prince's prophecy concerning the rebellion, nor would he take the advice of his relations. Passion had blinded his understanding, and now he was unprepared, and had no time to assemble his people either to advance against the enemy or to garrison the city. Instead of waiting for assistance, it seemed better to fall back before the traitors, and retire to Colla-suyu, where the Ynca trusted his life would be safe, owing to the honour and loyalty of his vassals. With this intention, he retreated in company with the few Yncas who could follow him, as far as Angostura, in the district of Muyna,* which is five leagues south of the city. Here he halted to obtain news of the movements of the rebels.

The city of Cuzco, deserted by its king, was in confusion,

* The Angostura is a pleasant maize farm which formerly belonged to the Astete family, near the village of Muyna, about ten miles south of Cuzco. Near it the valley becomes narrower, and there are some massive ruins of the Yncarial period, which tradition points to as the station at which Yahuar-huaccac took refuge on this occasion. Muyna is said to have been founded by the first Ynca Manco Ccapac (see pages 80, 86, and 190).

without captain or chief to give orders, much more to defend it, for all were seeking safety in flight. The principal people were escaping in the directions which they thought best, with a view to saving their lives. Some of the fugitives went to the Prince Uira-ccocha Ynca, and gave him news of the rebellion in Chincha-suyu, and how the King his father had retreated towards Colla-suyu because it seemed impossible to resist the enemy, owing to the suddenness of the rising.

The Prince felt very deeply the disgrace of his father having fled and deserted the city. He ordered those who had brought the news, with a few of the shepherds who were with him, to go to the Indians on the roads and in the city, and tell them to follow the Ynca, their lord, with their arms, because he intended to do the same, and to pass the word from one to the other. Having given this order, the Prince Uira-ccocha Ynca followed his father, without entering the city; and, owing to the rapidity of his march, overtook him at Angostura de Muyna, for he had not yet set out from that station. Covered with dust and sweat, with a lance in his hand, which he had obtained on the road, the Prince presented himself before the King, and, with a sad and grave countenance, said:—

"Ò Ynca! how is it permitted that, owing to news concerning a few rebellious vassals, whether true or false, you should desert your city and court, and turn your back on the enemy before he is in sight? How can it be endured that the house of the Sun, your Father, should be delivered over for the enemy to tread with shod feet, and to perform abominations within its precincts? Did not your ancestors abolish the sacrifices of men, women, and children, and all other bestialities and sacrileges? What account shall we give of the virgins dedicated to the Sun by the observance of perpetual chastity, if we leave them for the bestial rebels to do what they please with? What honour shall we

have left if we permit all these evils, in order to save our own lives? I like it not, and I shall return to face the enemy before they can enter Cuzco, for I desire not to witness these abominations which the rebels will commit in that imperial city, founded by the Sun and his children. Those that will follow me let them do so, and I will show them how to choose between a disgraced life and an honoured death."

Having said this with every sign of grief and sorrow, he turned back along the road to Cuzco, without taking any refreshment, either of food or drink. The Yncas of the blood royal, who had set out with the King, and among them his nephews, brothers, and cousins, in number more than four thousand men, returned with the Prince, leaving the father alone with the useless old men. On the road they were met by many who were flying from the city. They called to these fugitives to turn back, telling them that the Prince Ynca Uira-ccocha was coming to defend the city, and the house of his Father the Sun. The Indians were reassured by this news, and all those that were running away turned back, calling to each other over the fields, and passing the word from one to the other that the Prince was returning to defend the city, and that this undertaking was so agreeable to them that, with the greatest joy, they would go back to die with the Prince. The Prince displayed so much resolution and bravery, that he imparted new courage to all his followers.

In this way he entered the city, and ordered that the assembled people should presently take the road of Chinchasuyu, along which the rebels were marching, so as to interpose between them and the city. His intention was not to resist them, for he well knew that his forces were not sufficient, but to die fighting before they could enter the city and pillage it as barbarous and victorious enemies, without respect to the Sun, which was what he felt most. As the Ynca Yahuar-huaccac,

whose life we now write, did not reign after this, as we shall see presently, it seems better to cut the thread of the history at this point, so as to divide his acts from those of his son, the Ynca Uira-ccocha. We will, therefore, insert some further account of the government of the empire at this point, so as to vary the narrative, and avoid too long a continuance of one part of the subject. Afterwards, we shall return to the deeds of the Prince Uira-ccocha, which were very glorious.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

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